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[For additional information on the thārfiqth (pl. thārfīqth) or dharfiqth, a form of clan-community composed of extended families (jājghū) and including the families of all the sons of an original founding ancestor, see also Category 618.]

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[For additional information on the arrba, thakhammasth (pl. thikhammasin) or rba (pl. ruba), a major or primary section of the tribe, which has been variously described in the literature as maximal lineages, districts, khoms ("fourths" or "fifths" of the tribe), cantons (by Coon), groups of bones, fractions, or clan "fifths" (Blanco Izaga), see also Category 631.]

[For additional information on the fariqath, a "sub-fraction" composed of 4 or 5 related villages (related through a traditional rather than necessarily an actual common ancestor), and making up a single hill-valley or watershed unit, see Category 631.]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

KINSHIP GROUPS AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS

[594] [614] [591] THE smallest social grouping in the Rif is, of course, the biological family, consisting of father, mother, and offspring; but the importance of this fundamental group is often obscured by the large family group called *awar* (plural *iwaren*), or "vein." [1] The *vein* consists of a father, his wives, descendants, and descendants' wives, and his brothers, their wives, descendants, and descendants' wives. Since Riffian society is patrilineal and families are usually patronymic, daughters who have married into another *vein* become affiliated with the group into which they have married, and offspring of these daughters are considered to belong to their fathers' *veins*. When the brothers composing the oldest generation in a *vein* die, it splits into as many *veins* as there were brothers. Thus the sons of each deceased brother become the brothers forming the elder stratum of the new *vein*. In this way during the course of generations a single union of a man and his wife may give rise to numerous related *veins*.

614 621 These related *veins* collectively take the name of *ighs* (plural *ikhsan*), or "bone." [2] The *bone* is, however, something more important than a mere collection of related *veins*. In regions of sedentary life it generally takes the form of a village, or politically independent section of a village, and may include *veins* descended not only from the eponymous ancestor of the *bone* but also from strangers who have been adopted into the *bone*. The arrival of these strangers who become ancestors of spurious *veins* is due to the Riffian custom of selling property in order to pay fines or blood money assessed by the governing body. A man who has sold all his landed property and livestock in order to meet such an obligation feels ashamed to remain in his own village and often fears reprisal for his offence, and migrates, generally swiftly and secretly, to some other part of the Rif. When he has arrived at a sufficiently distant village, he hires himself out to a landowner in that village, or, if he seems to be a valuable potential adjunct to the village's military forces, is given land by popular subscription. He thus becomes a member of the *bone* into which his ill-fortune has thrust him, and is expected to marry into this *bone*, generally taking as wife a daughter of the man who first employed and sheltered him, if that man happens to have a daughter available. The newcomer and his wife become the forebears of a new *vein* in the *bone*, and this new *vein* may in turn split time after time until the *bone* contains a large number of alien *veins*. The *veins* descended from strangers exist under the disadvantage that they are not allowed any part in the government,[3] but are at the same time expected to contribute

[1] "Vein" is the literal translation of this word. I have discovered no sociological term in the English language exactly comparable to it, and hence have decided that to translate it literally, and to render this translation consistently throughout, will be less confusing to the reader than to leave it in its Berber form. In describing a highly complex social organization such as is found in the Rif clarity is of greater importance than philological exactitude.

[2] "Bone" is the literal translation, and has been retained through lack of any exact equivalent, although either "sib" or "gens" might be loosely applied. The endogamic character of the bone is not implied in either of these terms.

[3] Wherever the Riffian type of government is found, this is true. Under the Arab system the stranger restriction naturally cannot apply.

[p. 90]

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

their full share to any martial activity in which the *bone* participates; regarding this lack of balance as unfair, members of alien *veins* split off from the parent *bone* whenever possible, forming new *bones* with their own local government, and, in the course of time, with equal consideration in the larger governmental institutions. The new *bone* thus created may take as its name that of the wife of the adopted alien ancestor, since it was his wife and not he who belonged to the original indigenous strain. In that way one may explain many of the matronymic *bones* which occur frequently in the Rif.

Splitting of one *bone* into several may occur, however, without the necessity of alien immigration. If the *bone* becomes too large to be conveniently administered, if discord arises between two or more parties of *veins*, or if some of the *veins* migrate, voluntarily or through pressure, to a new locality, the *bone* splits up.

Sometimes a *vein* divides, some of the brothers staying at home and others migrating. In this case the original *vein* may never expand sufficiently to take on the status of a *bone*, whereas the brothers who migrated may have had numerous progeny and have become, in a relatively short time, the ancestors of separate *bones*. An example of this is the family of *Oshannen*, or jackals, a *vein* of the *bone* of Tiddest in Ikhuanen of Gzennaya. Two members of the Oshannen migrated, one going to Temsaman and the other to Beni Said. Now, the Oshannen of Temsaman and the Oshannen of Beni Said are not only separate *bones* in these tribes but have furthermore risen to the highest administrative authority in them. The Kaid Bu Kaddur of Temsaman and the Kaid Moh Amar n Woshun of Beni Said are both descendants of the original migrants from the *vein* of Oshannen of Tiddest.

A different situation is found in the tribes of Beni Tusin, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Galiya, Kebdana, and, to a slight extent, Beni Said. Among these tribes are found both *veins* and *bones* composed of strangers called *igharbiyen*, reputed to be of Arab origin. The Igharbiyen are allowed an equal part in the government, and are in no way discriminated against as are members of alien Riffian *veins* among the *bones* of the central Rif. In Beni Said, however, an exception to this is found. The Igharbiyen among the Beni Said are few in number, and are subject not only to the restriction against alien *veins* which is found in the central Rif, but also to that against their *bones*, which are not allowed a part in higher councils.

Families of Zenatan origin in Beni Tusin, Beni Ulishk, Tafersit, Metalsa, Beni Bu Yahyi, Gzennaya, Temsaman, Beni Said and Beni Bu Ifrur of Galiya, are subject to no discrimination whatever. The single families of Zenata in Gzennaya, Temsaman, and Beni Bu Ifrur are given the standing of *bones*.

Although one finds in the Rif numerous *bones* of immigrant groups, both Igharbiyen and Zenata, no trace of any moiety organization is visible, even among the Beni Tusin, whose very name, *Asht Usin*, means, in their own language, "the children of the half." [1]

Next after the *bone*, which is a true family group and is dependent upon kinship and adoption, comes the division known as *arrba'* (plural *roboa'*), derived from the Arabic word meaning "a fourth." In the present volume it will be called "canton." [2] The *canton* is a group of *bones* which may or may not be related in blood; it occupies a single geographical

[1] See p. 36, n. 7.

[2] Here again is a term with no ready equivalent. I have avoided "fourth," the literal translation, because such a designation would imply that it is greater than the *fifth*, when the opposite is true. Furthermore, there is no extant valid reason for the name *fourth* in Berberized Arabic. "Canton" seems to express the idea of geographical and political unity without an implication of kinship, and hence is applied to the present social phenomenon.

[For comment on this, see the 111 slip. - Analyst]

3:Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

631 623 *'ath*, as, in the mountains, is the olive press; the *jamā'ath* also retains an indefinable hold over saints' tombs *(amrābidh*, pl. *imrābdhen)* if there are any in the vicinity. Each village also has its communal pasture lands *(ḥarīm)* and its scrub forests *(ghāba)*; these may neither be sold nor divided up, and are maintained *pro indiviso* for the sole use of the inhabitants of the village in question. These lands, generally, surround the village, and form a vague line of demarcation between it and the next village; their situation and extension are such that a woman, for instance, can go out after sunrise to cut *ghāba* and return home before sunset (13).

631 The next unit up the scale is the minor political division called *farīqath*, which the Spanish administration refers to as «subfraction» This unit usually takes the form of a canton, a single hill-valley- or watershed-unit, comprising some four or five villages. The administration has brought this grouping into sharper relief by putting a *muqaddam* at its head; but this is for administrative purposes only and is not, except in a few cases, a true reflection of the tribal social structure. In the minds of the tribepeople the *farīqath* is ultimately [614] a descent grouping the members of which are related by blood, although the genealogical steps leading back to the common ancestor (if there was a common ancestor) are no longer traceable. We can find elements of one *farīqath* in the territory of another, and in only about half of these divisions, principally those in the southern mountains, the most homogeneous part of the tribal territory, do we see that the tribal and administrative concepts of the *farīqath* coincide. The importance of this group is political rather than social, because there are always some *thārfiqīn* within the cantonal territory which are not related to the others by blood. In general, ties which hold the members of a canton together are largely those of common interests: on Fridays they all go to the principal cantonal mosque *(thᵃmzīda n khuṭbath)* to pray and to listen to the sermon preached by the *faqīh*. Blood relationship between the members of a canton, however tenuous it may be, neverthless helps to keep peace, and cantonal wars have usually been heaviest in those cantons which show a greater mixture of various elements.

(13) Martos de Castro, José: «Lo bereber en Marruecos y sus relaciones con lo ibero». In Alta Comisaría de España en Marruecos: Labor de España en Africa, Barcelona 1946, pp. 309-333. My references from pp. 328-333.

5: Blanco Izaga

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[For information on the tharfiqth, defined by the author (p. 57) as "a form of clan-community", see Category 613.]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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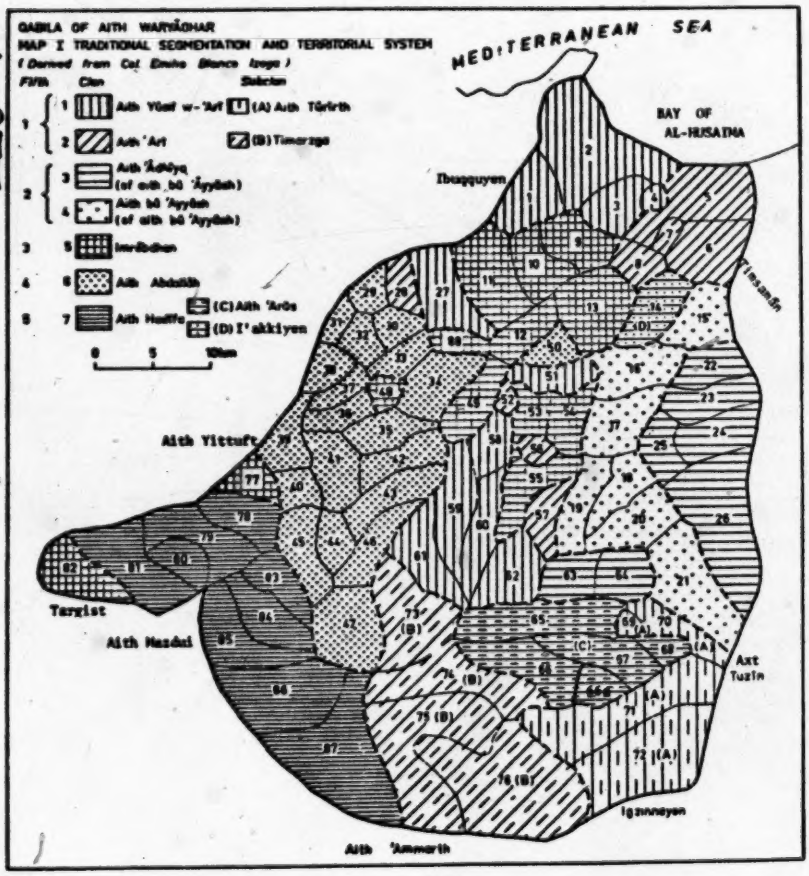
BLANCO MAP I (1934)



5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
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KEY TO BLANCO MAP, 1934 - TRADITIONAL SEGMENTARY AND TERRITORIAL SYSTEM OF THE AITH WARYAGHAR (Derived from EMILIO BLANCO IZAGA)

N.B. Numbers of "fifths" and clans correspond to those, numbered 1-5 and 1-7 respectively, on the legend of the map, while nos. 1-88 represent local communities.

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

1. Izifzafen
2. Ajdir: Aith 'Aru 'Aisa, Aith Misa'ud u-Yusif, Aith Zara'
3. Azghar
4. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Plain

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

5. Tafrasth
6. Aith Musa w-'Amar
7. Imjjudhen
8. Tigarth

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(1) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

9. Aith Hishim
10. Aith Misa'ud
11. Aith Qamra
12. Idardushen
13. Ifasiyen, Aith Brahim, Aith 'Amar u-Bukar, Aith Yusif

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

14. (D). Subclan of I'AKKIYEN

2 - "FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH

(4) - CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH BU 'AYYASH

15. Izakiren
16. Aith Tfarwin
17. Isufiyen
18. Aith Tfarwin (again)
19. Aith Ta'a
20. Iriyanen
21. Aith Bu Khrif

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(3) - CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA

22. Ighmiren
23. Ajdir Bu Qiyadhen
24. Imnudh
25. Aith Bu Qiyadhen (r-Rabda)
26. Tazurakhth: Aith 'Aisa, Aith Ruqman

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

27. Aith Buham

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

28. Aith Dawud

4 - "FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

(6) - CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

29. Tazaghin
30. Aith Zkri
31. Imarnisen
32. Tizi 'Ayyash
33. Ibunharen
34. Bu Khalifa (Aith Ziyyan)
35. Iqamniyen
36. Ikiddaben
37. Uqrishen
38. Dahar n-Zimmurth
39. Thariwin
40. Bu Sarah (Bu Salah)
41. Aith Sa'id
42. Aith Dris
43. Bu Zdur (Tigarth 'Ari)
44. Ihwahwahiyen
45. Thirkuzin (Tilkuzin)
46. Thimkiliwin
47. Marrui

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

48. Bu Ghardain
49. Zawith n-Sidi 'Aisa (Zawiya Sidi 'Aisa)

4 - "FIFTH" OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

(6) - CLAN OF AITH 'ABDALLAH

50. I'ayyaden

5:. Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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1 - "FIFTH" OF THE AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

51. Thamasind n-Waddai (Lower Thamasind)

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

52. Bu Minqad

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

53. Aith r-Qadi
54. Aith 'Aziz
55. Aith r-Qadi (again, I'athmanen

1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

56. Thamasind n-Dara (Upper Thamasind)
57. Iswiqen

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

58. Aghridh (Aghlid)
59. Aith Mhand u-Yihya of the Mountains
60. 'Arnuq
61. Isrihan
62. Ikattshumen (Ikultumen)

2 - "FIFTH" OF AITH BU 'AYYASH

(3) - CLAN OF AITH 'ADHIYA

63. Ighmiren (again)
64. Igar w-Anu

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

(C) - Subclan of AITH 'ARUS

(C) 65. Bu Sa'ida
(C) 66. Aith Tigarth (or simply Tigarth)
(C) 66a. Aith u-Maru (or simply Maru): "people of the shade"
(C) 67. Aith u-Sammar (or simply Sammar): "people of the sun"
(C) 68. Aith Juhra

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

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1 - "FIFTH" OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI/AITH 'ARI

(1) - CLAN OF AITH YUSIF W-'ARI

(A) - Subclan of AITH TURIRTH

(A) 69. Aith 'Amar
(A) 70. Thizimmurin
(A) 71. Thigzirin
(A) 72. Bulma, Ignan, l-'Ass

(2) - CLAN OF AITH 'ARI

(B) - Subclan of TIMARZGA

(B) 73. r-Maqsuridh
(B) 74. Bu Ma'dan
(B) 75. Thafsasth
(B) 76. Aith Yusif

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

77. Kammun

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF "TRUE" AITH HADHIFA

78. Mishkur
79. Ihadduthen
80. Iharumen
81. Thizimmurin

3 - "FIFTH OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

82. Thamarkatt (Tamarkalt)

5 - "FIFTH" OF AITH HADHIFA

(7) - CLAN OF AITH HADHIFA

83. Bihban
84. Aghzar 'Aisa
85. Bashkra
86. Aith 'Amar u-Sa'id
87. Zawith n-Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar (Zawiya Sidi 'Abd l-Qadir)

3 - "FIFTH" OF IMRABDHEN

(5) - CLAN OF IMRABDHEN

88. Izarruqen

613 a single dharfiqth may contribute to the formation of several jma'th-s.
614 even in different tribes. And thus the jma'th of Aith Waryaghar is
623 an agglomeration of dharfiqin without known relationship to each other.[63]

623 The iziddjifen have well-defined functions within the above
613 groups (e.g. jajgu and dharfiqth), such as the distribution of work,
[596] payment and benefits (barley to the fqih, rations to the poor, reception of guests, fines, irrigation turns, participation in communal property, etc.), and formation of the opinion which their delegate to the outside world has to express, as well as support for him in the viewpoints he is to maintain. The iziddjifen, as representative of the dharfiqin, are the primordial element in the "play" of the jma'th.

D) Position of Women:

562 A Kabyle can do what he likes with his wife except make her
182 a corpse, while a Rifian considers her as precious coin in the can-
171 cellation of blood debts, and a Berber from the Atlas Mountains regards her as a precious offering in his request for an alliance[64], when the insecurity of the social grouping made it mandatory to look for friends to reinforce it.

562 The sad (Blanco's term) condition of women is most clearly
627 revealed in reprisal and in the norms which regulate it, such as
628 their devaluation, pre-Islamic in character (sic), revealed through the exemption from the act of vengeance of a husband who kills his wife;...North Africa is an area where women can be killed, and the blood-price (Arabic diya, Rifian ddiyith) is half that for a man.....

000 on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subclan) these necessities are complemented.

621 623 423 The patrimony of the jma'th is made up exclusively of communal lands. The jma'th is thus formed not only by people but by lands. It thus has a territorial significance which the dharfiqth lacks, for it may have immovable property in another tribe[76], and acts committed by its members outside the "municipal terminus" are thus not handled by it exclusively. For this reason there is a need for another 614 621 623 social organ structured in an analogous manner, but of greater importance and more extensive jurisdiction: the "fraction" (i.e. clan or subclan.) This wider grouping, although it also has a localistic significance and a breadth wider than the village or hamlet of isolated homesteads or groups of homesteads that we have seen in the jma'th, has other more sharply defined characteristics. It alone intervenes in inter-jma'th matters, in most cases; for the custom of the jma'th itself is nothing more than inter-family (i.e. inter-lineage) custom.

3) The "fraction" (clan) is an association of neighboring jma'th-s for sociopolitical ends; it is a state in miniature, an independent republic, and the true Rifian patria because it is within the limits of this unit that the Rifian lives out his life; where he finds what he needs, and where his law is made[77].

614 443 [671] The clan has two distinctive features: its law and its market. It is my opinion that places in tribal areas which the natives regard as ancient Christian[78] market sites are nothing but former "clan" markets which are no longer in use and the memory of which has not persisted through time. In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin,

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975/ MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

In the tribes of Aith Waryaghar, Axt Tuzin, Thimsaman, Aith 'Ammarth, Ibuqquyen, Ktama and Sanhaja Srir, each clan has its own market[79]. Only in a small tribe or in one with more or less artificial clans is this not the case. The clan, which occupies a well determined area topographically, as a rule (a large meseta, valley, mountain fold, etc.), is a rare one which does not have or did not formerly have its own market, where the clan representatives or imqqranen came together to agree upon and proclaim their law, their rules of coexistence, which in some cases were drawn up on paper and which form the basis of my La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte.

The clans of a tribe did not originate through accumulation of the association of jma'ths, but rather, the tribes which came to settle in the territory already contained three, four or five clans in their nomadic (sic) state, and the new lands were distributed equitably.[80] However, it is easier to follow the schematic representation of social groups from smaller to larger units, as the lineages characteristic of these are clearer and better defined. In the tribe, they are quite relaxed, and it is more difficult to see them, because the clans themselves are apt to show this by their patronymic designations, "sons of X"; but this opinion is provisional, as there are also names which are not genealogically based, as in the case of the clan names of Ibuqquyen (Izimmuren, Azghar and Thaghidhith) and in Ija'umen of Aith 'Ammarth; and the same might well be the case with the jma'ths, whose names are often geographical ones.[81]

In the clan, we have all the institutions, organisms, dependencies and economic specializations most necessary to sustain life: an amrabit or hermit saint venerated and besought for pilgrimages and miracles; a market for the provisions and supply and for the council

614 site of the clan assemblies or igrawen (sing. agrau); master masons and carpenters; a loom; grain mills and olive presses. The clan has memories of men and places which tradition perpetuates and puts, because of their symbolic virtues, above the daily fratricidal struggles, taking them beyond the poisoned and corrupted ambit of the village and the vicious atmosphere of the jma'th in order to breathe purer air (as it were), that of the multitudes, of sociability, and
614 of humanity. For this purpose it is allotted a special day and a
443 special place (i.e. market day and the market) in which a truce is
796 established, and in which the human voice acquires its noble sound and drowns out the dry crack of the rifle shot. Interestingly enough, Friday is not the day which Islam sanctifies as the day of rest[82]; the market day is in fact the day when the Rifian rests and finds peace among his fellow believers.

614 The clan is not a rudimentary institution merely involving
621 social coexistence, like the jma'th. The clan gains in spirituality
623 what it gains from an economic standpoint in territorial amplitude through the wider association of groups of interest. The clan resolves graver and more transcendent matters than the jma'th does.

614 The clan independence (read "autonomy") is determined by the
619 promulgation of the executive force of proper clan law within an
616 elastic (author's italics) geographical perimeter, and by the possibility of the clan subsisting on its own resources, this independence, this liberty, has a limit, an area of movement, a radius which is fixed, as in all these associations studied here, by the higher power of the tribe and by that of the liffs or alliance systems, as the

614 latter are an incommensurable force in which both the individual and/or
[619] the group(s) to which he belongs may take refuge...Thus, if the clan
[616] has a geographic character[83], its primary distinguishing features are its customary law, its qanuns and its market (as in the qanun of the Wednesday Market of Sidi Bu 'Afif, which marks the jurisdiction of this market and the men who admit the same and arrange their lives in accordance with it--see La Ley Rifeña, 2a Parte, pp. 59-68).

619 4) Tribe or Dhaqbitsh: The tribe is the highest-level form of
614 clan association (i.e. a tribe is made up by a given number of clans or maximal segments). The function of a tribe, also, has on this
619 level been transformed into that of maintaining interclan equilibrium
614 (i.e. the theory of segmental balance and opposition), which is
671 guided by the same norms as within each clan, and if it actually has
182 no overall customary law common to it as a single unit[84], it nonetheless forces...any of its delinquent members to rectify any errors, faults or mistakes he may make, but always in accordance with the law of his clan. Thus we may observe that, within the tribes, their clans
619 form two balanced and equilibrated lfuf (pl. of liff), or liffs, as
614 the tribes, on their own level, do in turn[85], and as even the dharfiqin
616 of a given jma'th do, two, three or four rungs down the ladder. It
[613] would seem to be these liffs which have always served to watch over
[621] and maintain the continued existence of the "fractions" and tribes,
[623] while at the same time having been responsible for a fierce opposition to penetration of the area on the part of the Makhzin (both Moroccan and Spanish)...If the jma'th is the secondary school of Rifian democracy, the "fraction" is its high school and its tribe the university.

623 5) Councils and Tribesmen of Authority: All units under consideration up to now (the three "family" ones and the three "social" ones) have their relationships regulated by councils, which, although bearing different names, have similar and analogous functions. The council of the jma'th must undergo no formality in order to convene, and it has no president, although at times the agreements which it comes to are drawn up in writing. Any male (above the age of puberty) [885] [613] may attend and take part in its deliberations; but the personification of it is embodied in the iziddjifen or headmen of each dharfiqth, and these men together form an authentic and permanent council. This council above all legislates what the jma'th deems necessary, in conformance with custom and its agreements. The assembly itself or its representatives chosen for each particular case[86] make and execute all decisions. It is thus a legislative, consultative and executive body[87]. Its attributes, nonetheless, are constantly limited on the [614] one hand by family law, in the form of reprisals, and on the other by the power of the clan, which tries to keep it from prejudicing neighboring jma'th-s or the clan itself in its external politics. Thus, what it has is an administrative autonomy.

623 This council(s) elects its functionaries, the best defined of 793 which is the fqih of the mosque, who is in charge of leading the 212 prayer and of burial services; he is administrator of mosque property (habus)[88], as well as jural notary and council clerk and secretary. In large councils, however, these jobs may be handled by more or less ignorant tulba (sing. talib)[89], who pompously attribute to themselves 000 the qualifications of qadis. The fqih attended to the resources of the

623
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793 the fqih, fed by turn (nubth), receives one-fifth of the yield of the land in habus, the "rich widow"[97], and the others get what falls to them gratuitously. In the amarras or storehouse/silo guardian of
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624 the Eastern Rif[98], we see another functionary of the jma'th, who, through the asuqi (25 kilos for 4 mudd, or measurements of barley)[99], was in charge of the preparation and custody of individual silos in fixed places, called ma'ar, which came to represent, for Rifians, the collective storehouses of agadir-s (whence the place name Ajdir, existing in both the tribes of Aith Waryaghar and Igzinnayen) of the Moroccan South[100].

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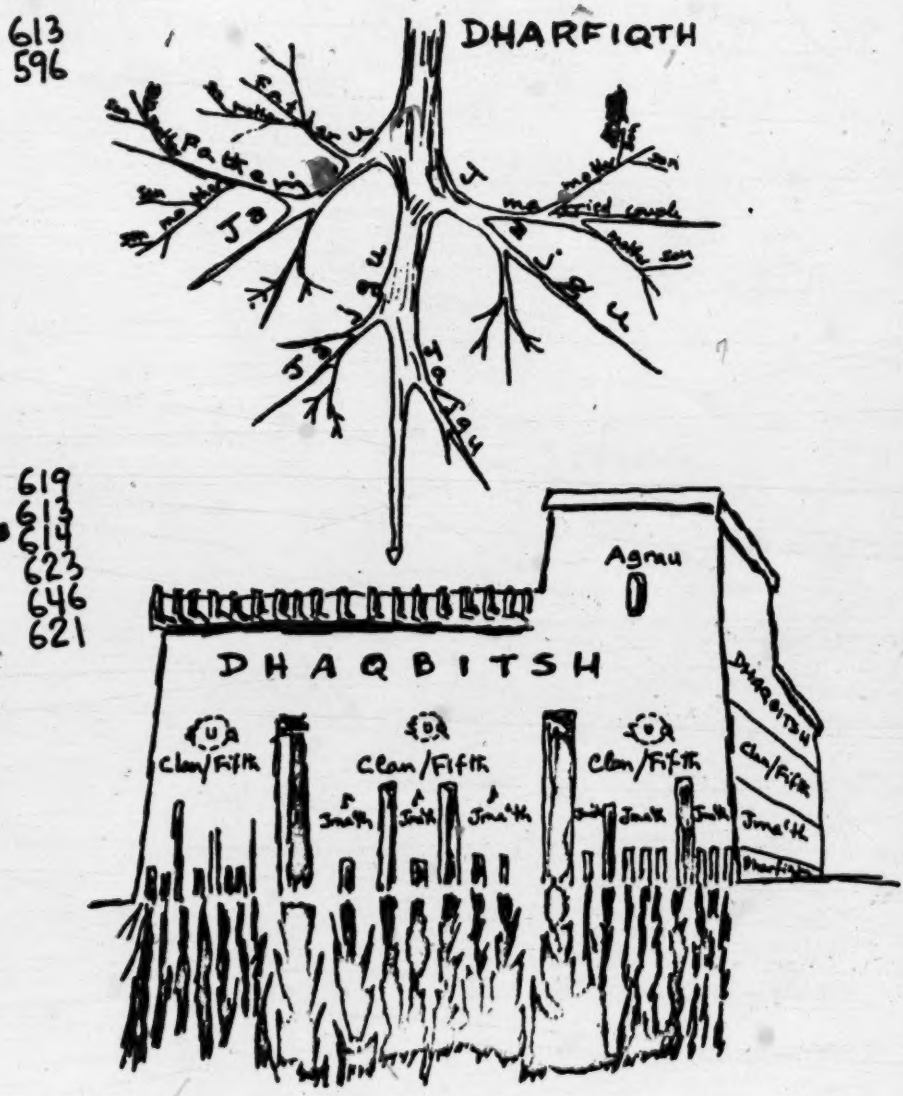
[623] The iziddjifen or family heads were the real directing nucleus of the jma'th; and in the clan, the governing body was made up of the imqqranen or "big ones", who habitually met, with legislative and executive functions, in the market. The clan delegates were collectively known as the Aith-(th)arba'in and the meeting itself, the agrau (pl. igrawn), of the tribe. The Aith(th)arba'in were unappealable. Fqih-s and men of law were mediators, collectors or executors.
646 The Aith(th)arba'in, however, made the laws, interpreted them, and obliged people to obey them, without discussion, backtalk or subterfuge. This was a true form of popular representation, the powers of which, although they did not emanate directly from the people in many cases, or through a European-style elective system, were indirectly derived from, and with the tacit consent of, their constituents..... It is a rare person who can produce a document which accredits him as a popular (author's italics) representative, either circumstantial or permanent, but, nevertheless, no one with a better title or more

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar



[P. 127-A]

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organization, as in the settlement morphology and house distribution of their communities, we may discern the state of disintegration which the Rifian "republics" had attained, the individual rapaciousness of each one and the anarchy of its component parts.

Diagram of Rifian Social Structure[113]

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We see in this graphic representation of the principal units in Rifian social structure how these units are originated in the lineages (Sp. original, grupos familiares) whose three ascending categories of nuclear family (Sp. or hogar, R. nubth), lineage branch (jajgu) and lineage proper (dharfiqth), with genealogical relationship as their distinguishing characteristic, form the roots or base of the Rifian arch, as diagrammed here. On reaching ground level (in an upward direction), they become transformed into three other (larger) social units whose distinctive features are expressed above and the apex of which is the tribe (dhaqbitsh), which is bound together with its autonomous institutional parts by the institutional apex of the agrau, or tribal council, the maximal assembly in the region. This arch gives us an idea of the (relative) independence (autonomy?) of its columns, representing clans sustained by the nuclei of jma'ths; and all this gives us also an idea of the whole and of the harmony reigning between this whole and its different parts, of its consistency, of its solidity, and of the importance of all these factors.

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5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Aith Waryaghar

FOOTNOTE: A

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113--A few comments must first be made on Blanco's notation of this diagram. Starting below ground level, we have, from left to right, dhaddarth (Blanco's spelling taddartz), "house"; jajgu (Blanco's spelling yasgo), "lineage branch"; and dharfiqth (Blanco's spelling tarfik), "lineage"; and further to the right, the commentary "family group" (grupo familiar). At or just below ground level, slightly above, we see the commentary, to the right and above "family group", "line of blood" (linea de sangre). At ground level, from left to right we have dhamzyida (Blanco's spelling tamesguida), "mosque"; jma'in (Blanco's spelling yemaa); and iziddjifen (Blanco's spelling islifen), "lineage-headmen"; and, further to the right, the commentary "council" (consejo). Further up, each of the three columns proper is labeled, from left to right, suq (Blanco's spelling sok), "market"; qanun (Blanco's spelling kanon), "custom", and imqqranen (Blanco's spelling imkranen), "council members (of the clan)"; and further to the right is the commentary "clan" (fraction). The apex is the dhaqbitsh (Blanco's spelling taqbilt), or "tribe", with a commentary by Blanco to the right: "tribe" (tribu); above this, in brackets, is Aitharba'in "tribal council" (Blanco's spelling ait arbain); above this, agrau (Blanco's spelling agrao), "council meeting site"; and above all, is The Rif (El Rif).

I find this diagram, with its ever upward and onward orientation, very neat as a conceptual plaything...In its theoretical and abstract niceties, it appears almost more the work of a Frenchman than that of a Spaniard. Could this possibly be attributed to Montagne's undeniable influence on Blanco's thinking? However, I seriously question the diagram on the grounds of to what extent it really reflects structural realities (insofar as a structural model of any society created by an anthropologist can be said to approximate the social realities of that society) of Rifian society; and also on the grounds that territorial vs. segmentary features of Rifian social structure, and the roles that these features play within that structure, are neither defined vis-a-vis each other nor in relation to the whole. The whole structure as Blanco gives it is, in fact, too neat, too simple, and too classic (or perhaps Doric?), like the Greek (and most unRifian) arch upon which he models it.

A, [See diagram on p.127-B--Analyst]

of Imhauren, of the clan of Aith 'Ari; while the upper part is made up of heterogeneous elements of different tribes. This will eventually happen in Ajdir, where a considerable number of Rifian workers are settling owing to its proximity to the town of Alhucemas. Ajdir has not succeeded in assimilating these people who, installed around and behind the fork in the (Tetuan-Melilla) main road, already form a special quarter which is beginning to be distinguished by the name of Kharrás, or "stranger"[121], a disagreeable appellation for them and one which causes them to defend intuitively their jma'ths of origin. A future modification of the jurisdiction of this quarter cannot thus be considered as injurious to the constitution of the jmath.

We thus see that the traditional jma'th in this tribe, in accordance with the data in our possession at the moment regarding this problem, may or may not have a familial origin (sic)[122], as an analogous examination of the Qa'idate of Nkur also seems to demonstrate.

If we limit ourselves, in this qa'idate, to the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one of those which from time immemorial seems to have kept its jma'ths most intact, we see that the only one to which a common origin or ancestor is attributed is that of Aith Ta'a. But if, for example, we examine Isufiyen in this light, we find that of its five dharfiqin or patri lineages, three (I'adwiyen, Ihaqqunen and Imdihiriyen) are from the tribe of Ibdharsen (Mtalsa) in the Eastern Rif, and have the same ancestor, while of the two remaining ones, one (Aith Ta'rafth) is from the tribe of Aith Yittuft[123]. Thus, through the elimination of four out of the five kin groups in question, the only one which is left, Aith Musa w 'Amar[124], is the only possible

621 614 candidate for earliest occupancy and for the foundation of the jma'th. As it happens, this is the case here.

621 613 Passing now to the jma'th of Aith Bukhrif, we see, analogously, that while the founding or ancestral dharfiqth, Aith Wuzghar, that of the present (1935) Qa'id of Nkur, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan, is considered to be descended from the "Aith Ya'ra" or Bni Marin, the former inhabitants of the City of Nkur[125], the other dharfiqin making up the jma'th do so without any apparent relationship to each other. [614] [619] The kin group whose ancestor arrived first was an Imrabdhen lineage from Ibdharsen, formed by the Aith Siddiq, Aith Tumritsh and Aith Tizza; this was followed by Aith Yunis, from the clan of Asht Yunis in the tribe of Igzinnayen; and finally, by the I'addiyen from the tribe of Axt Tuzin, the most recent of all.

If we turn now to the jma'th of Tazurakhth, we see the same thing, but with an increase in complexity, for the dharfiqth which is 621 considered to be the founding one is that of Aith Bukhudam[126]. This 613 group later received the following additional increments: a dharfiqth 614 named Aith Ufaran from the subclan of Aith Turirth to the south; a 619 second, much larger dharfiqth from the jma'th of Igar Ufadhis (local pronunciation Iyar Ufadhis) in the clan of Aith Bu Idhir of the tribe of Thimsaman, named Aith r-Qman (comprising today the four dharfiqin of Aith 'Aru Hammu, Yinn[127] 'Abdssram Bu 'Azza, Yinn 'Abd Allah u Hmidh and Ibaranen[128]); a third, Aith Tizi Marda, came from the clan of Amjau in the East Rifian tribe of Aith S'aid; a fourth, Ihamdiwen, from the jma'th of Asht Tghirasth[129] in the clan of Asht Yunis in the tribe of Igzinnayen; a fifth, from Aith 'Aisa in the tribe of Aith S'aid[130];

621 a sixth, a large one named Aith 'Aisa, from the jma'th of Aith 'Ammar
613 u S'aid in the subclan of Iraqraqen in the clan of Aith Hadhifa (com-
614 prising today the two dharfiqin of Aith 'Aisa--sometimes referred to
619 as Aith 'Aisa w Anu, or "the sons of 'Aisa of the well"--and Aith
Injin); a seventh, Aith Si Hmand 'Aisa, from the clan of Aith 'Abd
Allah; and an eighth, and last, Aith Tihar, from the jma'th of Tfsast
in the subclan of Timarrga to the South.

621 The net result of all the foregoing is that even such a multiplicity of examples will not clarify the question for us, considering that, in Aith Waryaghar, there are traditional jma'ths which have been split since antiquity, and split in such a way that to bring them together again now would create a tremendous political as well as administrative difficulty[131]. This would, indeed, be next to impossible, due to the difficulties of all kinds already felt by the Rifians prior to the Spanish occupation, difficulties which brought them to the transcendental act of separation. This fact on the one hand, and, on the other, the fact that the traditional jma'th in Aith Waryaghar does not seem to present an ancestry which is common to all its constituent groups or a type of "family origin" (i.e. common ancestorship) in the form or for the ends which interest the order of the Spanish regional administration. Under these conditions, it seems the best thing in this tribe, if our knowledge should not lead us to other conclusions, to continue the sedimentation initiated some time ago, avoiding modifications which do not justify an imperious necessity or a convenience manifest to all lights, something which even the author was unable to avert, and to discount, for this reason, any.....or superficially learned innovatory zeal.[132]

621 typical terms, like that of amghar, since the institution of the
646 Aitharba'in, formerly an authentic democratic power, seems to have
182 depreciated and is now dormant.

621 The traditional Rifian jma'th according to my way of thinking and to the results of my own investigations, is not limited to an administrative unit, but was rather the essential administrative, gubernatorial and judicial organ. The jma'th was the sovereign, [114] such a wide concept, such an interesting collective entity and so little known to me that if I tried to define it precisely, now, at the present state of my knowledge, I would imagine the results to be erroneous.

131 Regarding the geographical regions considered in the order
631 listed above, the Aith Waryaghar are reduced to three, which correspond approximately to the three qa'idates into which the tribe is divided: the region of the plan or the Qa'idate of I-Uta; the valley of the Upper Nkur River, or Qa'idate of the Nkur; and the valley of the Upper Ghis River, or Qa'idate of the Ghis[137]. Any other administrative division which might be made would not correspond with the same precision to the topography of Aith Waryaghar, for, in its geographical synthesis, this tribe is nothing more than the Ghis-Nkur
614 watershed. If a greater fractionizing does not seem necessary from a
631 geographical viewpoint, in order to maintain the subdivision of the tribe in its six present clans, five of them of ancient lineage and the sixth, that of the Jbil, imposed by necessity[138], with a shaikh at the head of each one because of the large territorial area which it covers, larger in some cases than that of other whole tribes, it is

614 certainly justified from a political and even from an ethnographic
631 standpoint. On the other hand, perhaps a greater simplification of the chain of command, brought by suppressing the khalifas of the qa'ids, a useless, retardatory and troublesome rung in the ladder, might be possible[139]; for the position of shaikh already exists, and in the absence of or in case of delegation of authority by the qa'ids.. ....the shiyukh can and do exercise the powers of the qa'id with all satisfaction, as has been observed in all cases and from all that has been told to me.

A chain of command without such useless steps would be restricted to qa'id and mqaddimin; but, nevertheless, the wide territorial extension which each of the clans of Aith Waryaghar has advises the retention of shaikhates in the manner expressed above; and the dispersion of the jma'ths advises in many cases the retention of the jwari (sing. jari)[140].

631 But these simplifications which are proposed in the framework
621 of authority in the tribe must be followed up with a stronger personality in the mqaddim which would make these jobs remunerative as well as having them, at the same time, fall on the shoulders of persons of true significance in the jma'th, so that the latter must listen to them, accepting procedures put forth by them and avoiding any chances that friendship, adhersion or mere servitude to the qa'id might annul this office, the one which is, in my opinion, the most important in a Berber tribe. It is certainly not advisable to try to accomplish this in one stroke; this patient revision of mqaddimin must be done without hurry on a jma'th-by-jma'th basis, if we wish to make a perfect

619 The ("holy" clan of the) Asht 'Aru 'Aisa are descended from
613 Sidi Musa bin Mshish[163], the brother of one of the "poles" of Western
614 Islam, Sidi 'Abd al-Salam bin Mshish, who is buried in the Jbil 'Alam, in the Bni 'Arus of the Jbala. Sidi Musa is buried among the Khmid(?) (unidentifiable).

The principal idea to be extracted from the foregoing is the following: around a principal nucleus consisting of Asht 'Asim, Imzdurar and Asht Marar[164], clans which are known to and recognized by all the Igzinnayen, there came over the course of time an infinite number of lineages originating from very diverse points of northern Morocco; and these lineages intermingled with the above. Their motives for so doing varied between hunger and war. They were brought to the Rif either because there was no room for them elsewhere or because the possibilities of living well there attracted them.....It is probably necessary to look for their origins in regions which are particularly barren and unproductive, such as the Khuld of Huwwara or the northern part of the Angad Plain, in the case of elements from the Aith Bu Yihyi; the Tafrata for the Ahl Rashida, the clayey hills of Mtalsa, and, in general, all the places more or less bordering the Mulwiya River, which, even if they are by no means paradises, are at least hospitable (sic)[165].

794 3) Qur'anic Instruction: --This is organized in exactly the
871 same way as it is among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, and is largely beyond the control of the Administration....There is
[793] usually a school in each village, the fqih of which is paid annually and in kind by its inhabitants. Instruction is carried out almost

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Igzinnayen

Today it may be said that there are no ostensible and important divisions among the different clans of the Igzinnayen.... The Igzinnayen are sedentary and inhabit fixed houses, which, as among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, are located along the edges of valleys, in fertile lands, and, in a word, wherever life is easier. Nevertheless, there is, aside from the tribal hamlet-villages, no agglomeration of importance....The tribe is divided administratively into seven clans, each one headed by a shaikh except for Asht 'Asim, which is divided into three shaikhates. One of the latter is made up of the communities of Buridh, Tamjund and Imharrushen, another by those of Ifran, Iaqrru'an and Iharrasen, and the third by Inhanahan, Thara Tazzugwakhth and Iharshriyen[169]; all these clans ("fractions") are headed by a qa'id. The tribe of Igzinnayen presents a line of penetration between the tribes of the Rif and those of the Eastern Gharb, as it has been utilized over a long period of time as a path for incursions by the mountaineers into the plain.

7) Political Division:--Qaid (1940): Si Bu Tahar n Mqaddim Saihi.

a) Clan ("fraction") of Jibarna: contains villages of Asht Hamou w 'Amar, I'athmanen (i-'Atamna), Dharwa Haddum Jibarna and Suyah. Shaikh (1940): Muhammed l-Mihdi Fars.

b) Clan ("fraction") of Ishawiyen (Shawiya): contains villages of Dharwa 'Abdallah, Dharwa n Tawunza, Bu Isri, Imrabdhen n Wawizaght[170], Aknul, Nadhur, Thammuthen and Izimmuren. Shaikh (1940): Bushta nj-Qa'id Buhush.

c) Clan ("fraction") of Marar: contains villages of Thighzrathin, Tasharbant, Dharwa 'Ari, Zarhun, Fiddan l-Kbir, Thighambuyin,

Thirmamin, Ifillasen, Asht r-Ahsin u Musa, Afarzaz and Tiyririn. Shaikh (1940): Muhammad Bu Thuyis.

d) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Mhand: contains villages of Asht Bujtuh, Asht Tayyar and Asht Ziyan. Shaikh (1940): Muhammad n Ka'was.

e) Clan ("fraction") of Asht Yunis: contains villages of Azru, Asht Hazim, Thaghirasth, Ihadhriyen, r-'Arqub and Ikhabbaben.

f) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Aru 'Aisa: contains villages of Dwaiyar, Tighza, Jbil Sidi 'Aisa, Waunkwarth and Thinimrar. Shaikh (1940): 'Abd r-Qadar n Muhand Aqudhadh.

g) Clan ("fraction") of Asht 'Asim: one part contains villages of Ifran, Iqarru'an and Iharrasen; another, those of Buridh, Tamjund and Iharrushen; and the third, Inhanahan, Iharshriyen and Thara Tazzugwakhth. The shaikhs of each (1940): 'Abdallah n Zimbib, Muh n Mis'aud and Si Muh n Biqqish.

8) History:--There are no precise dates on the history of the Igzinnayen until the occupation of the tribe by the Pretender Bu Hmara. It appears that prior to this time the tribe was consumed in intestinal struggles between Ifuf, as all Berber and Arab tribes were. These were disputes without interest in which the fortune and existence of the protagonists and their people were at stake.

When Bu Hmara (Jilali Zarhuni) occupied the country of the Igzinnayen, he came to the qasba at Msun (in the Asht r-Udha), and afterwards he met with the subclans of the Asht Haddu and I'athmanen[171]. Useless resistance on the part of the latter was severely punished, and their two chiefs, the Hajj Hammada and the Fqih 'Abbu, brought to heel,

000 almost postulate a sequence more or less as follows: people (and particularly the most important ones, i.e. members of the council) gather in the mosque on Fridays. This, in Durkheimian terms, would make a neat example of the three-way continuum of time, space and society! The fact that the Rifian term for mosque is dhamzidha in no way negates this rather attractive hypothesis (suggested by Ernest Gellner, personal communication, Feb. 4, 1961), for dhamzidha is itself derived from another Arabic word for mosque, masjid.

11--Dhaqbitsh, pl. dhiqbar (from Arabic qabila) is the Rifian term for "tribe", the ceiling unit in the region.

613 621 619 114 614 12--"Fraction": translator's quotation marks. This term, very current in the literature on North African social structure (and deriving from Arabic nuss, "half", tulut, "third", rba', "fourth" and khums, "fifth", each one of which usually refers to the number of clans or top-level segments a given tribe contains), is one which I find both imprecise and misleading. What one should read for "fraction" is either clan or maximal, primary or top-level segment of a tribe. What is totally missing in the term "fraction" is a notion of process.

As Blanco himself thought the term "fraction" absurd (as he indicated in a pencilled comment on a report on village etymologies in the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar by another interventor, dated 1939), we shall henceforth take his cue and call it "clan"--even though he continued to employ "fraction" in the bulk of his writing!

13--The concept of the relative autonomy or independence of the tribal clan (Blanco's "fraction") is, as far as we know, an original contribution by Blanco to the overall study of Berber social structure (even though Blanco's thinking may have had its roots, on this score, in Montagne, op. cit., 1930). It is, considering the time and place it appeared, a challenging and cogent theory, and Blanco discusses it at length in the chapter on Social Organization, as well as in La Ley Rifeña, 1939. The fact that the notions of balance and opposition in all segmentary societies have become anthropological commonplaces since Evans-Pritchard's Nuer work does not vitiate Blanco's argument.

000 14--Again, in the choice of words which these notes represent, Blanco gives no definition, and we fear that, although a literal translation renders the reading awkward, a substitution of our own terms might falsify what he had in mind, namely, to attempt to establish criteria for differentiation between social and political units. In our opinion, most of these distinctions exist in the author's mind only, and do not correspond to any sociopolitical realities; for, on upper levels of segmentation at least, social units and political units invariably tend to merge.

15--It is, of course, true that only men make alliances, wage war and engage in politics (councils, etc.), but there seems no need to belabor this rather obvious point. More subtle, however, is the implicit--and possibly unintentional--distinction made between social structure and territorial organization. In the Rif, as elsewhere, the territorial organization reflects a genealogically oriented social system which has been brought down to ground level, so to speak, and

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000 It is of interest to note in passing that the only other part of North Africa where the same word (or, at least, a close variation, harfiqth) is normally employed to denote a lineage is among the Shawiya of the Aurès Mountains in Algeria (cf. Pierre Bourdieu, Sociologie de l'Algérie, series "Que Sais-Je?", Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1959, p. 37.)

[614] 63--Montagne is completely in error here, for the Rifian dharfiqth is not a clan at all, but a patrilineage. Blanco is somewhat nearer the truth, but always with this reservation: that although in some jma'th-s there may be (and indeed there are) no known kinship ties between their component dharfiqin, in others there most definitely are such ties. The latter case, as previously stated, is indeed the rule rather than the exception; but affiliations in either case can only be established on the basis of an individual jma'th-by-jma'th analysis, and not selectively, as Blanco, in effect, has done it.

[581] 64--We have found no particular regional emphasis here. Marriages are made, among other reasons, both to heal bloodfeuds and to cement political alliances in both the Rif and the Atlas, and we are sure this is the case in Kabylia as well, although we have no personal acquantance with the area.

[593] [114] 65--One feels that some aspect of this judgment may be unnecessarily harsh even though we have heard (but not seen) a number of informants beat their wives, with the accompanying screams and howls of the latter. It is very difficult for a male anthropologist to gain any kind of access whatsoever to Rifian women, with the result that almost all information of this kind must of necessity be at second-hand, rather than direct observation. It also goes without saying that any remarks one might make about "cruelty" can, if not considered within the proper ethical-cultural framework, be construed only as value judgments.

66--To our knowledge, a woman cannot act as ukih for another women in the Rif.

[423] 67--Jma-th or collective property consists in the main of pasture land.

[114] 68--We have never heard of anything of the sort in the Rif, where theft is generally punished by a fine and the restitution of the stolen object.

[614] 69--The Scottish clan, as any anthropologist knows, is not a clan at all, but a bilateral kindred. Rifians, as already mentioned, however, do have clans (the largest and topmost level groupings in each tribe function as such); but these are quite a different thing from the notion of the jma'th!

[114] [829] 70--Blanco does not specifically come out and say so, but he obviously thinks--and, in large measure, correctly--that the inability of most Rifians to explain what a jma'th is and what its social role consists of may well have led to the confusion evinced by previous authors in attempting to define it. In any case, a certain degree of structural ambiguity seems to be inherent in Berber social organization generally.

603 621 616 182 This internal equilibrium between dharfiqin was maintained, more than by the play of (within) the jma'th, by the liff alliance system which, linking tribes, clans, communities and lineages into two rival bands, created the miracle of permitting the existence of minuscule units of this type amongst others more powerful, although the clarification of this point would take us further away from our present intentions.

614 619 701 Security in external relations was attained by the connection with the upper-level units, clan and tribe, and verified by means of their representatives and the contingents of armed men which on special occasions they had to send as irregular tribal troops in a harka, which defended group interests in any revolts or fratricidal struggles.

646 619 The representatives of the jma'th in its external relations are locally known by the name of imgharen, and more commonly by the Arabized term aitharbi'in (the forty: sic), because each khums (one-fifth of the tribe) generally provided eight representatives (sic)[10]. These men of the aitharbi'in were generally accompanied by an escort of aith amzzyan (or aith umzzyan?)[11] who officiated both as advisers and as witnesses to the agraw or council meeting where questions of common interest were aired and examined.

721 621 613 When these questions necessitated armed expeditions outside the unit concerned, the (manpower) quota which each jma'th had to provide

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[114] 10--This makes a neat mathematical model, but in practice it is based upon a false premise, as it has been demonstrated previously that the term aitharbi'in refers in fact to "representatives of the people" and that it has nothing whatsoever to do with the notion of "forty".

[114] 11--The concept of aith umzzyan or imzzyanen, "little ones", "minors", as participants in the Rifian political system is, again, erroneous. It is only in the present paper that Blanco introduces the concept in this fashion.

3. COUNCILS, WARFARE AND ALLIANCES

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A) The Agraw:

The agraw is a meeting or convening of all the adult Rifian males in a clan or tribe who are capable of supporting their opinions by force of arms. It is an assembly of all men who carry rifles, and it has almost unlimited attributes, among which the major ones are:

a) Declaration of war and of all that this embodies (organization of attack and defense, organization of harka-s or war-parties, contingents which are levied up for distant expeditions, and establishment of agreements of friendship or alliance with neighboring tribes).

b) Guarding the security and honor of its component family and kin groups (making common cause with them, supporting them with force if necessary, and acting as mediators); thus, when the interests of any individual or of his kinsmen are harmed, and he is incapable of defending his rights, the councilmembers claim the resulting damages in his name, and, in order to obtain them, they either very soon have to take up arms, or wait and work out an alliance with other igrawn, or convoke the agraw of the group one step up the ladder.

The agraw may be on a village (or hamlet), "fractional" (or clan), or tribal level, and the only difference between these three levels lies in the number of councillors who attend the meeting on each one....The agraw is convoked by mqaddimin or shiyukh[1]; by word of mouth, by arqqas or messenger (gunshots by day or bonfires--thafgirth, pl. thifgirin--at night, in case of alarm, and in both instances by cries transmitted from hilltop to hilltop, from village to village, and from mountain to plain).

[202]

5: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
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634 Every man who carries a rifle drops whatever he is doing and
623 goes immediately to the council site, leaving his house, interests and
614 work in the fields to his women, who collect all their movable property,
619 animals and children, in case they have to move, and await the news,
562 quickly transmitted, with anxiety, while they decide upon their place
722 of retirement (usually the house of some relative) and form a line of sentries, together with the older children. Here they follow, with analogous emotions, the events of the fight, if there is one, and await its outcome....Once the men have arrived at the site of the
634 alarm, or more often at a generally determined meeting site (agraw),
623 they start to look, without orders or signals, for their kinsmen and
614 neighbors who have arrived or are just arriving. They are always
619 careful to seek a spatially dominant position, and remain grouped together some little distance from the other groups which are also being formed, completing a circle, in the interior of which only the chiefs, who are rapidly informed of the matter and of the opinions of their subordinates, may enter. Such opinions are impassioned ones, as they have been forged (in case of alarm) on the spur of the moment, on the basis of what those who echo them have heard, or on the basis of what is going on around them; one can distinguish the feverish voices of the kinsmen and friends of the injured party, who want immediate reparation.

634 In this heated atmosphere the delineation by the chiefs of the
623 matter at hand begins; they are attentive not so much to what happens
614 in their own little circle, but to the stormy atmosphere being created
619 on the outside one and pressing in on them....If the matter is one of
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634 If the matter is one of
623 imposition of a fine, the deliberations are rendered longer, through
614 haggling, and more methodical, because in such an instance custom
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692 decrees that half of it (i.e. the fine) goes to those who impose it,
681 the chiefs within the small circle, and the other half, to the injured parties and their kinsmen (the sector, or the whole big outside circle).[2 & 3]

1) War:

634 a) Declaration:--War surges up frequently from agraw meet-
619 ings; at times, a meeting terminates in rifle shots. This may not be
614 a very politic declaration, but, equally, it is not a very rare one.
623 ....Ordinarily, the separation and departure of those who have come
628 together and convened at a council meeting without having arrived at
721 any agreement is considered tantamount to a declaration of war, which all the threatening components hastily retire in order to prepare.... Only the later intervention of new emissaries can put off hostilities. This in itself is uncommon, because from the moment the meeting is theoretically over, disputes and quarrels begin in fact, and the life expectancy of such emissaries would thus become extremely slight.

628 b) Fighting:--Usually the plan of attack is instinctive,
721 logical and clear to all: the accusers, being warned and prepared beforehand, are the attackers and take the offensive, while the accused,
(624) surprised by the result, are on the defensive. No war chiefs have been previously appointed. The objective is clear and simple for every combatant, namely, to exterminate the opposite group and take over its property. Very soon combat parties are drawn up, through reasons of kinship, friendship and geographical proximity; at night,

619 616 but in the Rif, alliances were limited to the practical idea of the defense of the Rifians' own interests, for neither their religion nor their political system nor any other abstract notion or value or institution, great or small, was the cause. Islam, independence and [181] security were the trinity to which the whole little Rifian world[10] administered its sacrament as only spiritual appetite, desire for coexistence in free and minuscule republican units[11], and security of 619 616 property and persons....The regular functioning of its structure, with its trilateral organization of blood, family ties (marriage; jajgu or 182 branch; and dharfiqth or trunk[12]) and social units (jma'th, clan and dhaqbitsh) and institutions (communal and religious services[13] markets and qanun), could never have been justified alone, because the Rifians needed to take refuge in a complementary system of alliances, which they would do until another more powerful force from outside, such as a relatively strong and centralized Makhzin, succeeded in reducing such a function to smoldering embers.

Rifian alliances were thus the refuge of individuals or groups when the norms of coexistence were broken or when the danger of individual or group preponderance surged up within a social unit, threat- 616 ing its equilibrium. The alliance which originated in the rivalries 619 between kin groups rose up to clan and even tribal levels, and in some [614] instances it could even spread beyond tribal borders to extend itself 616 over the whole area. In this way the two great enemy groups of Sanhaja 619 and Ghumara came into being; and although they are to a large extent 648 confused recollections in the minds of old men[14], the latter also 173 bring to life, through their descriptions, the voracious conflagrations

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The jma'th, the clan and the tribe, in spite of swamping their territory with the blood of their brothers and fellow members, are invariably and unchangingly preserved, for the desire of expansion on the part of their neighbors was always held in check by a tremendous fear of the liff, whose mysterious strength was never known previously[25]....And here we have a strange game or interplay between these two types of liff, for while the individual type, with its sanguinary feuds with neighbors, tends toward the disintegration of the social units involved, the general type remains permanent and intact, tending to neutralize or localize the hatreds which the quarrels of the individual type can engender.[26]

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As today (1935) the central power (i.e. the Spanish Protectorate or Makhzin) is strong enough to put individual and group disputes up to arbitration, guaranteeing the enjoyment of his or their rights to each person or group involved, the general liffs are disappearing and the individual ones are weakening; but in my opinion, if any real commotion began, liff alliances would surge up anew, even though today they exist largely in the minds of old men.[27]

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Robert Montagne, in Les Berbères et le Makhzen (p. 216), says of all this:

> "When we study the existence of little elementary societies, we are struck both by the tyranny exercised by the group over the individual and by the impotence of the former to keep away from anarchy. The liffs materialize and project on ground level, we might say, the two opposite and complementary tendencies of Berber life: the spirit of association and the taste for discord."

My own feeling on the matter, however, is that the liff system is the complement of the other two types of unity, family and kin group

619 brake or check upon the expanding hunger of neighbors as well as upon the hegemony of some determined individual.

175 But with the threat of the Rogi, Bu Hmara[31], expressed in
619 the form of the mhalla or military expedition under the command of Jilali Mul al-Wudhu[32] (Muludu), we see the Aith Waryaghar reacting violently and uniting, for the first time in their history, as the result of an agraw at Imzuren, nominating their war chief, mounting guard on the line of resistance parallel to the Nkur River, from Imnudh (in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) to the Mediterranean, and joyfully accepting the hard task, magnificently performed, of smashing Bu Hmara's army to bits and sending it back in headlong retreat to Qasba Silwan.

619 In the same way, we also see the khums of Aith 'Abd Allah,
616 in liff with the Ibuqquyen, joining the other khmas of Aith Waryaghar
175 to fight against that tribe, as auxiliaries in the punitive expedition of Bushta al-Baghdadi[33]; and thus we see that tribal interests were always superior to clan ones[34].

616 For this reason, the mechanism of the liff is simply con-
182 servative and not disintegrative, as might seem the case from other points of view. If in the jma'th it equalizes the forces which are
[621] feuding, it does the same in the tribe with the rival clans, and in
[619] the overall Rifian area with hostile tribes, everywhere balancing the
[614] inferiority of weak groups with the strength of its own men. It may be possible to explain in this fashion why in spite of the feverish, ephemeral and unlucky vicissitudes of such minuscule states, they never came to the point of disappearing altogether, while at the same time and by the same token they never permitted the duration of empires

616 as were forgotten by the people, we have no others to explain the liff system save external autonomy and internal equilibrium. The liff is the opponent of group hegemony, as the latter is of the preponderance of one family, and it thus results as a protector of both. This was the cause of the ephemeral character of the empires founded upon such a powder-keg, a mosaic of minuscule autonomous republics, as of the transitory periods of tyranny which they would have undergone. If external danger brought about the sacred interclan unity; internal danger (rivalries and hegemony) separated them, seeing them forced to support themselves, now divided, in other neighboring tribes[42].

[614] Whatever may have been the cause of these alliances, it is certain that among the clans of a tribe there were two bands which put them into this framework and gave them this frame of reference....And if their ethnic origin permits us, in principle, to reestablish the division of the tribes which gave its name to the two great liffs (Sanhaja and Ghumara), it is in the equilibrium and autonomy (author's italics) thus established and in operation that we see the origin and persistence of the other two liffs commented upon, among the Aith Waryaghar[43].

616 619 Perhaps among the Aith Waryaghar, different aspects of this interpretation may be corroborated. We see their khmas or "fifths" allying themselves one against the other to form two rival groups and thus equalizing their internal strength and avoiding attempts at supremacy by individual clans. And we also see how the Aith 'Abd Allah and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash look for their internal security in the tribes which border them, the first uniting with the "Badisiya" tribes of the A, [Apparently footnote "44" should appear here--Analyst]

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616 619 642 114 the Rifians borrowed a European word, republik, to describe the political organization of their country before 'Abd al'Krim's time, and even though they say that they employed this word because there was no central government, no makhzin, only imgharen or councilmembers acting in a state of "organized acephaly", we must not assume, for instance, that republik to a Rifian means what republic means to an American or republique to a Frenchman. Furthermore, though the American and French definitions of the term are no doubt closer to each other than either or both of them are to the Rifian, we cannot even assume that they are the same. And one of Blanco's most persistent defects in his analysis of social structure is a constant tendency to try to put square pegs into round holes.

616 619 182 601 829 [191] 12--Blanco's comparison of a jajgu to a branch of a tree (which, in fact, it actually means) and of dharfiqth to the trunk, e.g. a branch of a lineage with the lineage itself, is a comparison that Rifians themselves very frequently make. An anthropologist beginning work in the area, is always told by his informants, if he is perplexed by the intricacies of segmentary systems, to compare a tribe with a tree: trunk, major branches, minor branches growing out of these, still smaller branches, and, finally, leaves. The notion of "family trees" is just as firmly rooted in tribal Islam as in the Western World, perhaps more so.

000 13--What Blanco refers to in this very European expression is, among other things, attendance at the noon prayer on Fridays in the mosque.

[114] [191] 14--Where Montagne committed a grave error was in his assumption that Rifian alliances work exactly the same way as the checkerboard system which he found in the Western Atlas, and of which, oddly enough, the almost hypothetical Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs in Northern Morocco also seem to have been a good example. Blanco did not fall into quite the same error, but like Montagne, he takes the Sanhaja-Ghumara liffs at their face value, and accepts them entirely.

15--In the original, bando, which is not a bad description. The liffs of a given tribe are, in fact, hostile moieties, and regarding this conceptualization of them, and the notion of balance, equilibrium and oscillation between them, see Hart, op. cit., 1958, pp. 204-6, note 44.

[114] 16--The notion that there can be more than two liffs within a clan or within a tribe may not, in fact, be beyond the realm of possibility; but the point is academic, for the end result is, no matter how one arrives at it, always two liffs. For example, clans A and B are at war, while C, D and E remain neutral. C and D, however, are hostile to each other, so that if A should ask C's aid, D will automatically join B. After this, ideally, E will split in half, one half joining A's liff and the other, B's, in order to keep the balance and symmetry complete.

17--Almost always, in the shifting liffs within clans, each liff took the name of its most powerful man; and sometimes this happened on the tribal level as well, though it was less frequent.

616 62] 602 114 18--The concept of linkage is basic to an understanding of the functioning of Rifian liffs, as Blanco indicates. He does not, however, go

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[62] sufficiently deeply into the problem to explain why this is so; although
[602] he does distinguish two kinds of liffs, he does not, in my estimation,
[114] make sufficiently clear why such a distinction exists. Let us look at
the matter in a slightly different way.

[539] There are, indeed, two kinds of liffs, which Rifians themselves readily distinguish, and a Rifian proverb to this effect is as follows: "Kahalli nimsingha jiranagh ghar barra untimsa'dhi" ("Even if we fight among each other, we must be united against outsiders"). Thus, within
616 clans or subclans, there are "internal quarrels" (aminghi n dhikhr,
614 pl. iminghan n dhikhr), in which alliances often or sometimes even con-
619 tinuously shifted and changed over time; and within tribes, there were "external quarrels" (iminghan n barra), involving one clan or subclan against the next--and here alignments were almost invariably stable and predictable. Whenever the latter had to be activated, they were the same as they had been previously; and the feuding parties in an intra-clan war patched up their differences in order to turn their attention to attacking another clan. For this reason, permanence and impermanence of liffs tends to depend upon what levels of segmentation are under consideration, the latter applying more to lower levels and the former more to higher ones.

616 Besides the question of duration, there is another mechanism at work in the structure of liff alliances, and this has been defined by E. Gellner as "transitiveness" (see Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204, note 44). What is meant here is that if A and B are in liff, and B and C are, then A and C are also. This is indeed true for the Rif, but within well-circumscribed limits (the neighboring clans of immediately neighboring tribes) to be discussed below--for transitiveness does not continue ad infinitum.

616 The crux of the matter, among Rifians, is neatly revealed in their
614 terminology given above, in that "external" or "outside" or "big"
619 liffs operate on an intra-tribal level, while "internal" or "inside" or "smaller" liffs work within clans or subclans. The hall-mark of the Rifian liff system as that every single tribe in the area (and we know of no exceptions whatsoever) was permanently split down the middle, and its various clans and/or subclans, as a result, were aligned either in Faction A or Faction B; and thus the balance of power tended often but not always to be roughly symmetrical. Not only this, but it was generally expected that immediately bordering clans of neighboring tribes
[124] would help one faction and hinder the other. Two informants, from the Igzinnayen, in fact, visualized the whole Rif, from their own tribe (in altitude, the highest in the Rifian-speaking universe) down to the Mediterranean, as a veritable network of such alliances! Small wonder, therefore, that Montagne, de la Chapelle, Justinard, Blanco and others who have published on the subject have found it so fascinating. Because of the internal split into two more or less equal parts in each individual tribe, and because of participation (if not in manpower, at least with money or rifles), of adjoining segments of neighboring tribes, the Rifian alliance system seems more complicated to me than the out-and-out chess- or checker-board-type liffs of the Western Atlas (if Montagne et al. are correct, as J. Berque, op. cit., 1955, pp. 424-39, has cast doubts on the Montagnian hypothesis); and we would liken it more to the links of a chrin--as Blanco does, though perhaps he does so unwittingly through not having had all the facts at his disposal.

616 619 726 [614] [728] It must be remembered, however, that not every man in a tribe participated in that tribe's wars (though the participants were always remembered long after the non-participants were forgotten), and in some cases--although they were few--whole clans even remained neutral, though hardly aloof. It is, we suspect, to situations like these that Blanco refers when he states that it is possible to have more than two liffs in a given tribe, for the neutrals would generally be instrumental in arranging for a truce. In this sense, then, they could form, in effect, a third liff--those who opted out of war in any case, and who sometimes even buried the dead of the belligerents: the lineage of Ihawtshen, of foreign ancestry (from the Axt Tuzin), living in the clan territory of the Aith Turirth of Aith Waryaghar and greatly scorned by them, is a classic example; and there are others, as well. [563] Warfare was demanded of the majority, but a minority could find safety through humility, as the few Jews living in the Rif were able and 000 expected to do.

[114] [729] 19--Quite true in theory, but in practice he might seek safety in humility, and bury the dead of the combatants, as the Ihautshen did in Aith Turirth.

[114] 20--This at best is dubious, but at the time he wrote these words, Blanco, like all his French counterparts, was entranced and virtually blinded by the liff theories of Montagne, who thought that liff systems were the be-all and end-all of Berber political sociology.

[682] 21--If a murderer, as was generally the case, was not able to pay the full amount of the rhaqq levied upon him by the imgharen, his agnates and, if necessary, his liff-mates were called in to help him out.

616 619 [162] 22--This is certainly true of the Thafarsith; and although the Aith 'Ammarth are a fair-sized tribe, 13246 strong (in 1960), it is bordered in the east and southeast by the two giants of the Rif, the Aith Waryaghar, 75695 in 1960, and the Igzinnayen, 41653 in 1960. The Aith 'Ammarth feuded bitterly among themselves, also (so ferociously, it is said, that each liff had its own market and its own qa'id); and the [614] principles outlined in note 18 apply here very neatly. One of their liffs, consisting of the clans of Aith 'Abbu and Ija'umen, was aided by the neighboring Igzinnayen clan of Asht 'Asim, as well as by another neighboring clan of another tribe, the Aith Hadhifa of the Aith Waryaghar; while the second moiety, consisting of the clans of the Aith S'aid Ikhrif and Aith r-Hasayin, was abetted by another neighbor, the non-Rifian (in this case, "Jbalan") tribe of the Marnisa. Although even the giants of the Aith Waryaghar and the Igzinnayen both respected the fighting ability of the Aith 'Ammarth, the latter were and are too small to try to get away with anything. These neighbors, therefore, they left severely alone, although they regularly trounced their smaller Sanhaja Srir neighbors of the Aith Bshir and Zarqat.

000 23--Blanco's two different classes of liffs, individual and general, are, in effect, my impermanent, shifting and intra-clan type and my permanent, intermittently reactivated and intra-tribal type, as described in note 18.

24--This is a well-taken point, if a somewhat obvious one. Women, in theory, do not fight, but in more than one instance they have been able to strike blows for the men of their liff. A woman's allegiance, in the

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last analysis, is with her husband, although the relationship between idhuran (sing. adhuggwar) or in-laws is always conceptualized in terms of mutual help, friendship and obligation, in short, of alliance.

25--What is presumably meant here is that one is never sure if one's allies of yesterday will be one's enemies of tomorrow.

26--Blanco recognizes the shifting character of liffs on lower levels of segmentation and the relative permanence of those on higher levels, and it is certainly true that in one sense the permanent liffs act as checks and balances on those of the lower levels. However, what Blanco [114] does not say is that this cuts both ways; and in a critique of Montagne's ideas on the subject, Andre Adam (La Maison et le Village dans [113] Quelques Tribus de l'Anti-Atlas, Collection Hesperis, XIII, Paris: Larose, 1951, p. 41) raises the question of whether liffs cause war or prevent it, saying in effect that if their function was to prevent it, they hardly succeeded!

27--This point, again, is well taken. Liffs, in theory, do not exist today, and even though the liff structure is largely erased from the minds of Rifians of the younger generation, it could probably be reactivated without difficulty if the need arose, although such reactivation would doubtless take different and more modern forms. Hatreds in [152] the Rif today are latent; but every Rifian is perfectly aware who his [628] friends and who his enemies are, both within his own tribe and outside it.

28--The European concept of "republic", rather than the Rifian Republik, probably is the context which Blanco intended in this case, even though the latter makes far better sense!

29--It is not so much a difference as a shift in emphasis, as the Rifian proverb quoted in note 18 makes so abundantly clear.

619 30--If this statement is at the same time supposed to give any idea of
616 the primary divisions or maximal segmentation of the Aith Waryghar into
114 five khmas, it is highly misleading. From certain of his previous assertions, it seems that Blanco does indeed recognize the difference between a segmentary system and a liff system, but he does not bother to make this difference explicit anywhere. In addition, he faithfully lists the member clans and subclans of Moiety A, but merely refers to Moiety B as "the rest". To clarify the matter further, it should be
619 said that the Aith Waryaghar are segmented into five "fifths", or khams
616 khmas (sing. dhakhammasth; the notion of "five fifths" in addition indicates that a tribe is strong), as follows: I) Aith Yusif w 'Ari and
● 614 Aith 'Ari; II) Aith 'Abd Allah; III) Aith Hadhifa; IV) Aith Bu 'Ayyash, containing the subclans of Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (as it were) and Aith 'Adhiya (as we shall see Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper was in the numerically superior liff, as was Aith Yusif w 'Ari, while Aith 'Adhiya and Aith 'Ari were in the smaller liff--thus the first two clans or subclans might be considered onomastically "dominant" and the second two onomastically "recessive", to borrow a term from Mendelian genetics); and V) Imrabdhen. To set the record completely straight regarding references in previous notes, and to attempt to tie up loose ends, the mountain, or Jbil, (sub)clans of Aith Turirth, Timarzga and

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Aith 'Arus, though spatially separated from them, are nonetheless clan "brothers" of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa respectively; and each of the former groups gets its share of the tribal rhaqq from each of the latter, though this, at the moment, is beside the point. What is more important, however, is that each of the mountain clans is allied in liff to its "brethren" further down the slope.

In the Aith Waryaghar, the two liff heads depend largely on the clan to which one's informants belong. If they are from the Aith 'Adhiya, the liff heads are Aith 'Adhiya and Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (which segments, being both member subclans of a single clan, are more "brothers" to each other than they are to any of the other clans); if from the Aith 'Abd Allah, they are Aith 'Abd Allah and Aith Hadhifa; and if from Aith 'Ari, they are Aith 'Ari and Aith Yusif w 'Ari (who, again, as subclans of a single clan or clans combining to make up a single "fifth", are more "brothers" to each other than either or both of them are to any or all of the other clans; in this particular instance, in fact they are supposed to be descended from two actual brothers, 'Ari w 'Ari and Yusif w 'Ari). No matter; the structure of the liffs in Aith Waryaghar is as follows:
Faction A (within Aith Waryaghar): Aith 'Ari (with Timarzga), Aith 'Abd Allah, and Aith 'Adhiya (of Aith Bu 'Ayyash). Faction B (within Aith Waryaghar): Aith Yusif w 'Ari (with Aith Turirth), Aith Hadhifa (with Aith 'Arus), Aith Bu 'Ayyash "Proper" (of Aith Bu 'Ayyash), and Imrabdhen. Faction A (external to Aith Waryaghar): includes clans of Truguth, in the tribe of Thimsaman, and Axt 'Akki, in the tribe of the Axt Tuzin. Faction B (external to Aith Waryaghar): includes the clan of Ija'unen, in the tribe of the Aith 'Ammarth, affiliated through liff with Aith Hadhifa.

From the foregoing, four facts are readily apparent: 1) Faction B, internally, is, in both number of clans and total number of individuals involved, considerably stronger than Faction A is, internally. This shows that 2) the liff alignment among the Aith Waryaghar, rather than corresponding to the khums structure, tends to cut across it, for within two of the khmas listed, subclans are pitted against each other in the total tribal molety system, even though the other three khmas remain intact. It also implies that 3), as discussed below, the liff system of the Aith Waryaghar is in fact far more a function of their territorial system than it is of their system of segmentation. Moreover, as we have noted in an earlier publication (Hart, op. cit., 1958, p. 204-6, note 44), 4) the exact form that each liff in a given tribe will take depends largely upon whether the number of top-level segments in that tribe is even or odd. As most Rifian tribes have an odd number of top segments (only Bni Bu Frah, Aith 'Ammarth and Thafarsith have even numbers--four, four and two, respectively), usually five and never more than five, (i.e. Aith Waryaghar, Igzinnayen, Thimsaman, Axt Tuzin, Aith S'aid, Aith Wurishik, etc.), a certain amount of improvisation and splitting within clans has to take place. (Among tribes containing an even number of segments, there is no need for this.)

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It may well be asked, at this juncture, what the explanation is for the numerical superiority of Faction B. There is, we think, a very good one, but in order to show how it works, we must first consider yet

616 another (and/or alternative) division of the Aith Waryaghar into two
619 top-level segments. This division is above and beyond that of the
[124] khmas, and it was dictated to the writer by the late Qa'id Haddu n Muh
Amzzyan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, a man whose knowledge of his own tribe was considered by his fellows to be unrivalled. In this division, Top Segment I is labeled Aith Khattab, and consists of Aith Yusif w 'Ari (plus Aith 'Ari) and Aith 'Abd Allah, while Top Segment II consists of Aith Bu 'Ayyash (with Aith 'Adhiya) and Aith Hadhifa. If the subsegments of these top segments are aligned into their component liffs, as above, the balance of power is completely even. The primary key to the
616 problem, therefore, is the khums of Imrabdhen, the presence of which,
619 in the Aith Waryaghar, tips the scale in favor of Faction B (above).
614 The Imrabdhen, as their name indicates, are the major intrusive element
792 in the tribe, a holy clan in a lay tribal unit, so to speak. Tradition
[613] has it that the ancestor of a major Imrabdhen lineage branch, Sidi Mhand u-Musa, married a daughter of one of the top imgharen of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari; and thus the alliance between them. It was highly beneficial to both parties because the Imrabdhen received the protection of the laymen of Faction B, so to speak, while the latter derived prestige from having holy men in residence. In time, with the proliferation of the Imrabdhen, the latter came to acquire the status of a khums, and their subsegments spread out over much of the length and breadth of the tribal territory, forming islets, as it were, in the land of the remaining clans, so that today, although they are regarded as a single top segment, their own subsegments are territorially discontinuous, just as Aith Turirth, Timarzga and Aith 'Arus are in relation to their "brothers" of Aith Yusif w 'Ari, Aith 'Ari and Aith Hadhifa, respectively.

[613] In time, also, the majority of the Imrabdhen came to fight among themselves, and only a very few (such as the lineage of the Iziqqiwen of Aith Hishim, the direct descendants of Sidi Mhand u Musa, himself in turn a direct descendant of the clan's apical ancestor, Sidi Ibrahim al-A'raj, and the lineage of the Dharwa n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud in Aith Turirth) retained the traditional occupations and prerogatives of holy men: the wearing of white robes, the adjudication of disputes, and the dispensing of baraka (which, it might be added, could only be inherited
614 by one son of any given holy man at a time). In the overall, permanent
616 liff alignment within the Aith Waryaghar, however, they did not waver
182 in their allegiance to the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. We are thus faced with
792 the paradox that although functionally they helped, as holy men, to restore or maintain equilibrium within the tribe, they created at the same time a structural disequilibrium by virtue of being, literally, "fifth wheels"--for such a relationship as exists between the segmentary and liff systems of the Aith Waryaghar is tenuous and non-integrative, as, in effect, it adds two and two together and makes five. (It is also possible to draw a similar analogy, in terms of balance and imbalance, between holy and adjudicating imrabdhen, the 10% minority, and lay and warrior imrabdhen, the 90% majority, although this is essentially another
614 matter. So, in fact, is the problem of the "legitimacy" of the Imrab-
792 dhen as a clan: whether they are shurfa or not--and here again, one runs into ambiguities. They themselves say "yes", while others say "no". In general, their genealogies seem to indicate that they are genuine shurfa, although it is possible that these are, at least in part, cleverly faked. Perhaps a test question here is whether or not they have a right to share in the annual proceeds of the sunduq or box

614 of Mulay Idris in Fez; and over this, they hedge, saying that they do
792 have this right, but that they have never yet exercised it because "Fez is so far away". This is, in effect, a tacit admission of proper imrabdhen and non-shurfa status.)

616 In having postulated a state of equilibrium between the two
614 moieties of the Aith Waryaghar prior to the arrival of the Imrabdhen, and in having postulated that the latter came in time to upset this equilibrium in structural terms, we have up to now left Faction A in a kind of structural limbo. How, one may well ask, did this faction regain its balance? Through the principle of transitiveness within limits, as defined in note 18, by enlisting the aid of one neighboring clan from each of two tribes, Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin. After Faction A made this move, one may assume, Faction B did the same thing with a neighboring clan of Aith 'Ammarth. And here, we feel, is the secondary key to the problem, for, in effect, the inequality of liff alignments of a permanent type within the tribal territory of the Aith Waryaghar is cancelled out or, perhaps, rectified through the mechanism of transitiveness without; and balance is thus restored. And the interplay of the factors of permanence, transitiveness and the chain-link theory (by which, if Faction A gets the Thimsaman and Axt Tuzin, Faction B gets the Aith 'Ammarth) is evident throughout.

000 31-Bu Hmara, as his title r-Rogi indicates, was a false pretender to the Moroccan throne in the first decade of the 20th century. For full details, see Eduardo Maldonado, El Rogui, Tetuan: Instituto General Franco, n.d. (ca. 1952).

[648] 32--Jilali Mul al-Wudhu was a negro general of Bu Hmaram and his top man in the Eastern Rif when he set up headquarters in the qasba or fortress of Silwan in 1907, prior to trying to rally the Rifians to his cause. All of the tribes, in fact, did so rally, save Aith Waryaghar and Aith 'Ammarth, who thought it very "shameful" that a black "slave" ('abid) should invade their territory; and so, on September 7, 1908, on the banks of the Nkur River, near Imzuren, they cut him and his army to pieces, after which the other tribes turned against him one by one and ambushed his rearguard.

33--Busta al-Baghdad's expedition took place in 1898. It should also be noted that any previous liff arrangement which may have existed between Aith 'Abd Allah and Ibuqquyen was purely and strictly ad hoc.

34--True; but the normal situation was as described in note 25. Only outside invasion could and did ever weld a whole tribe together; and the Aith Waryaghar were united for the very first (recorded) time in their history when Bu Hmara came to the Rif.

35--See note 18. The fact that Rifian liffs were transitive, but only up to and including neighboring clans of the next tribe, tended normally to isolate feuds and to keep them in bounds, to some extent, at least.

616 36--We have commented on the almost mythical Ghumara-Sanhaja war above.
619 The liff system at work in this particular case was at variance with
648 the traditional Rifian system, as described in note 18; although on the other hand, if we can accept the myth (which is doubtful), it points

A, [See p.257, #14--Analyst]

671 [443] interest were discussed; in the suq resolutions of more importance were made by significant individuals, more important than the place which gave them a legal character.

Thus, in order to be valid, agreements and decisions had to conform to the following conditions: 1) agreement of the imgharen[16]; 2) necessity of a witness of exceptional character (a personality of religious significance, known and respected throughout the district); 3) registry by the tulba; and 4) proclamation in the suq. The above seems to be the mechanism of Rifian law.[17]

443 671 614 And in the suq a double character may be seen: place of business and temple of law, the latter more important than the former, because if it were the other way around, each clan would have various market sites and not just one, it seems to us; and furthermore, some clans, by virtue of their commercial topography would have been lacking in markets, which is also not the case.[18] Thus we believe, as stated in the first part of this work[19], that there is a correspondence between the clan as a social unit and the suq; in fact, we may go so far as to say that the former was the real fatherland (patria) of the Rifian, his political unit, a small independent republic, the distinctive feature of which was the suq, the temple of Rifian law.

3. INTER-LINEAGE QANUN,[20] SHOWING EXECUTIVE PROCEDURE (AITH WARYAGHAR):

671 628 613 A) Qanun:

Praise be to God.--Copy taken from the text of a document after legalization, extended for the bearer of some.

[682] Praise be to God.--Upon the reciprocal guarantee (Blanco: note 1) made by Ait 'Aisa, Ait Tzurakhth, Izubu'an, Ait Haddu u Sa'id and

property in that belonging to him, in conformance with traditional law.[25]

Those who attended the present (act) brought their testimony to the above according to the requirements of the interested parties. --In the middle of Jumad al-Awwal of the year 1336 (February 27, 1918). --The 'adl, Muhammad bin Muhammad bin al-Hajj al-Warnuri.--Another, whose name is not known.--Another, Muhammad bin Sidi 'Abd al-Qadir al-Ghazri.

B) Commentary:

The social disintegration which Rifian society has reached is proven by these individual agreements between dharfiqin (Blanco: note 1, corresponding to text of qanun). In the face of helplessness or irregular functioning of higher-level associations, the poor tribesmen, before falling into complete anarchy, hastened to conclude an agreement with a neighboring group in order to attenuate that anarchy, succeeding in the hard struggle for life on a poor soil. These agreements thus formed true islets of irregular and variable peace, anchored in functional (sic) anarchy.

The necessity of agreements between lower-level lineages, who were abandoned by the rudimentary organization, obeyed, according to my understanding, those most curious periods which followed the public declaration of anarchy in the suq, when one powerful group managed by force to sustain the punishment, breaking the truce.

As the dispute was generalized between two preponderant rivals, the unaffected groups, before falling into anarchy, and with that notable instinct of self-defense, worked to bring about these agreements,

628 a guarantee of peace which, little by little, by virtue of their
613 acceptance by new and neighboring dharfiqin, came to be converted into
728 a general agreement between clans, thus increasing the radius of
● 614 peace; or they even inspired them to adhere once more to an interrupted truce.

"There is no law", the ingharen announced through the mouth of
628 the market crier, and the poor tribesmen, loading their faithful and
616 inseparable companions, their rifles, were pressured into forming the
[195] ranks of a liff, and into working out guarantees or neighboring alli-
[203] ances, such as that which we shall examine, which, for greater efficacy, publicity and solemnity, they proclaimed in front of their notables in the suq (parliament--sic), rendering them necessary and valid for fulfillment (Blanco: note 2, in text).

These agreements had no other legal connotation than the very
671 short one of holding off the next spark of vengeance, being disrupted
628 or broken, due to the good will of trying to serve (Blanco: note 14)
728 for repression and as an example of punishment, their efficacy being that of lengthening the brief periods of peace.

829 This is a rational mechanism. Everybody understood that war
921 would exterminate him; everybody desired to be at peace. But in their
[182] independent-minded democracy, they did not hit the mark with an organ of enforcement capable of imposing it, if anyone tried to disturb it.

671 Tired of tragic bloodfeuding, they drew up a truce and, logi-
628 cally, nominated the most powerful (man) to guarantee it and watch
728 over it.

This proves what has been said
554 regarding the treatment of social organization in connection with the
671 ascendency and distinctiveness of the clans, of the suq, a true par-
614 liament, which is attended by the most outstanding men of the clan,
621 tacit or vocal delegates of the jma'ths who form an aristocracy known
623 as the Aitharbi'in, whose circumstantial attendance in some cases
619 forms the agraw, the directing assembly and organism of the tribe.
646

614 This also serves to confirm our opinion that in the Rifian
671 area it is not the tribe which legislates and executes, but the clan,
[619] through its leaders, who parley in the market. It is thus the clan
[554] and its representatives in which all powers are concentrated and only
in case of a decrease in strength do they pay heed to the rest. The
Rifian clan is thus a truly autonomous state. It makes the law and
[681] executes it. Look, for instance, at the division of the fine, how
not a single céntimo goes to the representatives of other clans, even
if they are of the same tribe.

681 Notes 11, 12 and 13, which deal with the division of the fine,
[628] prove many of these notions. The victim or his family does not benefit
from it, for from the beginning his business is individual; a member
of his family (i.e. one of his agnates) will already be designated to
671 avenge him. The law does not punish more than the violation of the
pact, indemnifying those who remain faithful to such violation and saw
628 to its fulfillment. For this reason the perpetrator and his family
[672] (agnates) are punished, while all those who intervene in the service
of justice benefit, for they or their representatives carry it out.
If they get no money, as such, for such services, nobody would be
interested, for in carrying them out, he would not be bothered to

627 very scarce and will soon give out altogether.

627 This period is that of smoothing over. Those responsible hide
614 their possessions, assure (the imgharen) that they have nothing, only a goat and a cow and a tiny plot of land: this is all they can offer, along with their house. The rest had been mortgaged[30], etc. The imgharen, sure in their convictions, do not agree....The members of the victim's family deny having any more possessions.

The neighbors of those responsible for the crime who are also obliged to put up lodgers become impatient and denounce possible concealments. The imgharen continue without deciding, and then their buying begins. Finally a moment arrives in which they hear no more offers or denunciations of those responsible for the crime. All, including the coterie, grumble, become tired and begin to desert, finally going back
627 to their homes. The notables, satiated and fed up, see that this is
614 the time to stop in the struggle and investigations, because of what
613 they hurried to auction when it was taken over, the gross value of which they distribute equally among the lineages concerned in the
[594] agreement, except for that of the man who violated it. This distribution, which the representatives of the lineages present parcel out among their lineage-mates, must in turn be parcelled out by the latter among the nuclear families, and by these among the members of each
[262] family. And thus, one fine day, the imgharen and their numerous coterie, nourished with barley, bread, butter and hard-boiled eggs, abandon those places which they have left as clean as the palms of their hands; for Rifian notions of justice are now satisfied and the lineage responsible for the crime remains in misery.

4. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF IMHAWLEN[31] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

692 621 614 695 Praise be to God. Those of the jama'a of Imhawlen appeared for judgment in front of both the undersigned notaries, and presented themselves to us: al-Hajj Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Misa'ud and his brother Muhammadi; Qaddur bin ask-Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Abd as-Salam and his brother Muhammad; al-Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad and his brother 'Allush; 'Abdallah bin al-Hasan; Muhammad bin 'Azzuz; Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali and his uncle Shu'aib bin Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Musa; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan; Muhammadi Amzzyan; Awlad al-Muqaddam Shu'aib bin Muhammad bin Shu'aib and their brother Hammu; Muhammadi bin al-Muqaddam and his brother 'Umar[83A], and their brother Hammu. 621 692 673 All these persons are of the jama'a of Imhawlen, and all appeared for judgment (at the present act), agreeing in behalf of what is good and advantageous to the making of the agreement, with respect to the hannash (evil doers; also snake charmers), to robberies and all acts of lowliness and ignominy (Blanco: note a).

685 689 In case any thief or smuggler should be caught in flagrante delicto, he must pay 10 mithqals in money (Blanco: note b).

695 Regarding the above, the interested parties testified. The Murabit Si Muhammad Dardushi and the Murabit Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Qadir 784 al-'Azizi attended the present act with them. Whoever changes or alters this agreement must answer to God, who shall decree his punishment. Those who commit misdeeds (on earth) shall know the change in the other life (Blanco: note c).

A, A ["83" apparently does not refer to any footnote here and therefore should be disregarded--Analyst]

000 671 182 628 681 nor a bastardization of his office. It creates guarantees for the accused, protecting him from bloodfeuds; it indemnifies the social unit, the subclan of Imhauren, from injuries caused by some of its members, so that when the fine is donated to the habus of the village mosque, through the particular conceptualization and application of these funds in the Rif, a part of the money always came back to the jma'th in kind; and the eagerness for a reward, as among participating European functionaries, who multiply the fines by increasing their investigations and denunciations in proportion to their needs, was discarded.

671 It has--and why not?--among its other defects one which is certainly a simple defect in editing, although the frequency with which 681 it is repeated makes this doubtful in several cases. The intention (author's italics) (Blanco: note f, in text) is punished, but how can 627 it be proven? According only to the prudent arbitration of the popular tribunal formed by the two aforementioned individuals. A bad business.

671 621 623 614 182 Curious and noteworthy is the palpable demonstration of this municipal letter, of this qanun of a jma'th, which is careful not to overstep the bounds of adjacent institutions, such as those of personal status law (inheritance, etc.) or of those handled by the immediately superior social unit, the clan, with its qanun approved and drawn up in the markets (murders and woundings, etc.), a fact which reveals the interrelationship and interdependence of the different social units, and even their institutions and how they function.

671 627 182 This qanun is limited, logically, to neighborhood questions, among which there figures in first place that of public security (espionage)[36] and secondly that of property.

000 (espionage)[36] and secondly that of property. It[A] says nothing regarding
671 the question of irrigation, because within the territory of this subclan
312 there is not a single point of communal water available or usable only
614 by this jma'th, as happens in Thamasind (see Qanun of Tamasint); on the other hand, it forms part of a group of irrigating jma'ths subjected to the same norms which are described in detail in Chapter XIV, and, if it does not touch other points of coexistence and if it is observed in other qanuns, this is simply because such questions did not give rise to any disagreements, for all members of the subclan accepted the old and very well-known customs of their jma'th in good spirit.

000 And rough, practical men cannot lose time inventing or making things up, even though they may be capable of doing so.

671 This qanun, like almost all others, brings into relief the sweat, efforts and oversights of those who drew it up, in order to validate the precepts agreed upon and in order to satisfy, for those attending to them[37]; for, attentive to his individual interests, a man would wish to make an addendum if a mishap had occurred in his orchard the previous night, as in note i in the text. Amplifications or corrections [623] were required, for, fearing that they were not understood by the hard-headed councilmembers, the plaintiff was accredited before the legislative assembly as proof of his presence at the legislative meeting even if only to legislate egotistically for his orchard.

623 With this, they accredited that under a severe and formalized
182 appearance, there was no more than childishness (sic) and incapacity to govern (sic): lost in small details, strongly addicted to minutiae, passionately influenced by the latest incident, working anarchically (sic), each person obsessed with his own problems, attentive to his

[A] [i.e., the qanun--Analyst]

671 It eschews pardon,
614 it demands proof and it shows the reality of the
621 social unit, the "fraction" (author's italics--the translator
619 would call it "clan", with translator's italics), the characteristic
631 and fundamental unit of Rifian social organization, in the same way that the jma'th (author's italics) is the elementary unit, the tribe (author's italics) the principal unit and the confederation (author's italics) the superior unit.[49]

443 The life of all peoples demands some commercial interchange and, by the same token, commercial relations as such; and the result of this is that these relations must be regulated. This necessity
621 impels the jma'ths resident in a small area to satisfy it by estab-
623 lishing a common market in a fixed and determined place on a fixed and
443 determined day of the week, and guaranteeing access and permanence to
671 those who attend it by means of an agreement among its representatives, whose written accord, respected across time, forms the law of the clan,
[182] an example of which is the qanun commented upon here. A law which, in principle, has as its only objective the guarantee of commercial interchange, establishing a truce to its disastrous life, it becomes accustomed little by little to social coexistence, giving consistency to the immediately superior unit, the jma'th, the demarcation of which at least corresponds topographically to an accident of the terrain (the side of a mountain, the course of a river, a meseta, etc.) abridging its pride and feeling of solidarity in seeing its market thus favored, converting it into an oasis of peace, a localistic tie which, overflowing the reduced limits of the jma'th, widens its notions of humanitarianism.

671 Look at how this admirable qanun shows in its first paragraph
443 the market as the temple where the agreement, the law of the people,
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671 443 614 776 was drawn up, as the names of those who inspired it disappear into a convenient anonymity as the generic "those of the clan", under the otherworldly tutelage of Sidi 'Amran. As for being alive and present, 671 614 776 I consider that the jealous and rivalrous constituents of this saint would neither have consented, however great his sanctity might be, to figure expressly in this qanun; for such was the independent or anarchical spirit of this clan, that, having iziddifen or imgharen like all other clans, nobody wanted to see himself deferred or ordered around, 554 even in name only. There is no master nor, by the same token, are there servants, titles or honors. Only men and rifles, and only reality and harshness.

614 671 Nevertheless, the common good succeeds in putting the clan's ideas into effect (author's italics--i.e. "the common good makes them agree"), according to the expression of the first paragraph of the qanun, which reveals to us the amount of discussion and work that this would cost.

671 Rifian law grows, pacifying the minds of those who live by it, staisfying a need, not an ideal; and doing so as naturally as the waters of 'Ain Tihalalin, beside which it was made, slake the thirst of the wayfarer and even the clarity of both: the wayfarer and the law. For the function of the water and the function of the Rifian [182] legal system was analogous: to cure, even though the cure was not always successful.

671 443 Rifian society, as this qanun proves, establishes a place of peace, a place which is not (translator's italics) the temple of God, the place of prayer and that selected by almost all other peoples, but the market and its environs, the temple of the merchants. This proves

671 Paragraph e: This paragraph distinguishes principals from accomplices or auxiliaries.

671 181 Paragraph f: A virile and rural society distrusts the veracity of the so-called humanitarian sentiments, closing its doors to the intrigues which, under such a mask, provoke influential individuals to save their allies and other interested aspirations which mock the objectives that the law, to which they freely gave themselves, pursues.

671 609 628 Paragraph g: We have here a precise and exact detail, an excellent delimitation of a truce, a recognition of Rifian public law (i.e. jural procedure) and interest protecting the stranger, to whom this law guarantees a wide and sufficient time of commercial activity and a prudent warning that he leave an open field to the fierce internal bloodfeuding. We have here a manifestation of the social unit, 671 609 614 the clan, which shows us its reality and consistency, which recognizes a common interest and one superior to its own intestinal vendettas; and this permits it to guarantee to the neutral, to the stranger, a free passage and activity throughout its whole territory (author's italics).

671 695 Paragraph h: Two important additions are made here to the hurried first draft. It is necessary, first, to guarantee the person of the accused against the passions of the moment, the outward appearances, the ill-will and the outright suspicions, by means of <u>evident proof</u> (author's italics), offering him the means of avoiding such passions by taking oath. And in the second addendum (Paragraph i) they list, furthermore, and completing it, the duration of the truce or time of peace.

671 794 212 In these childish (sic) legislators we may observe the suspicions and fears which the poor tulba plant with their confused drafts of these qanums, drafts which they never succeed in becoming satisfied about; for they see themselves bound to the impossibility of correcting their vague and hazy language and can only modify it with addenda which for the most part only give rise to new and further confusions. But this is not the fault of the man who grasps his rifle, but rather of him who wields the pen.

We see in this clan qanun how it refuses to concern itself with matters that fall within the exclusive competence of the jma'th, which has its own independent life[50], as the final step of Berber anarchy (sic). Thus, for example, it says nothing about irrigation, orchards or fields, hospitality, education, grazing lands, collecting and gathering, etc., and neither does it enter into private rights, personal and successoral law. It limits itself, rather, to regulating the coexistence of its component jma'ths, lineages and individuals in the only places where they come together (i.e. markets).

671 183 It is also to be seen that the social or public law which this qanun represents is inspired by norms which are more elevated through the non-admission of compensation, such as blood-spilling, in cases of common prestige (murder in the market) without, at the same time, ceasing to be inspired by norms more humanitarian than the private rights admitted by vengeance and reprisal, to which the codes of social units like this one are opposed,.....

671 614 613 182 So that, while the qanuns of clans tend toward the clans' preservation, they develop solidarity, and neutralize the rivalries of

671 614 613 182 component lineage groups, for the practices of such groups tend to disintegrate them through the violent opposition of the individual interests of their members. The clan officiates as a soothing influence on the disorderly appetites of the lineages, patrilineally and patrilaterally united by the strong tie of blood.[51]

671 693 695 623 621 782 7. QANUN OF THE AITH 'ADHIYA[52] (AITH WARYAGHAR)

A) Qanun:

Copy.--Praise be to God. In the presence of both the undersigned notaries, all those of Bani 'Adhiya (properly, Bani 'Aziya) made testimony, both adults and minors (author's italics) who constitute the jama'as of the Ait Tazurakht, Ait ar-Rabda, Ait Kharbush, Ait Mnudh, Ait Ajdir, Ait (illegible)[53], Ait Ighmiren and Ait Fars, that they, when they went together to the tomb of the saint Sidi al-Hajj 'Umar, in ar-Rabda, sacrificed two bulls as an offering to him[54], (on the occasion of which) an act of reconciliation took place between them, with respect to murder, theft, pillage and other acts of this kind. In case any of them should kill another, then all the above-mentioned villages of the Bani 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates); they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them a fine of 1000 duros. This (shall be the case) if he should have killed outside the market[55] or without witnesses (literally, "without a meeting"). In case he should kill someone in the market or in front of witnesses, then the procedure shall be as stated above, all uniting against him, burning his estate and that of his brothers (i.e. agnates), and taking from them, as a punishment against him, a fine of 2000 duros.[56]

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671 law, a lay law ignorant of religion even though it speaks of the Sacred
771 Book, the irregular application of which, in such a recent and turbulent period, leaps into view, proving that Rifian Islamization is superficial.[57]

671 This pact combines all the pleasant conditions of the Rifian
182 appetite. It is verified in the habitual place of reunion for tran-
[778] scendental acts, taking place under sacred protection, in addition
[782] to lubricating the agreement with the heathen rite of blood sacrifice,
[779] the Islamic promise of peace, and the feast day for the sober Rifian,
[514] an enforced vegetarian.[58]

671 It brings together the mass of the Aith 'Adhiya, a subclan of
182 the khums (Rifian thakhammasth) of Aith Bu 'Ayyash; and democratic
614 practice advises this mass not to mention the name of any individual in
619 writing, as this might presuppose questions of distinction and preference, swelling their heads.

671 It establishes the ddiyith[59], fixing it at 2000 duros, the
182 maximum sanction which it is worth pointing out and imprinting in-
628 delibly in the minds of those who attend. This is a fabulous amount
681 of money for the economic means of the people to whom it relates; and
[511] it is accepted as much out of the respect which radiates from it as from being generally admitted in analogous pacts of which they have news in neighboring districts.

671 It must be pointed out, in order to avoid the confusions which
628 can arise from the different editorship of the qanuns, that the real
681 ddiyith, or blood money (author's italics), does not, in reality,
184 differ anywhere throughout the Rifian mountains, and must be valued at
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671
628 1000 duros[60]; for the double amount of 2000 duros which appears in
681 certain qanuns refers only to a single case and to the place in which
184
443 the crime is committed--the suq, or tribal market.

In this single case the 2000-duro fine is imposed, and the
681
619 reason is simple: the crime in these conditions and in this place
443 reaches out to attack not only the prestige of the tribe but the common interests of Rifian society, and endangers them gravely; for, naturally, when news of the crime is spread by the regular constituents of the market, this keeps away the merchants from other places who have received word. This, in turn, brings about a commercial blockade (author's italics) of the tribe, which originates from insecurity of persons and property; for rare is the occasion that the tumult which murder and woundings bring about does not end up in pillage.

681 For this reason the Rifians saw themselves obliged to cut down rigorously and to threaten with heavy sanctions any crimes of this magnitude and kind, the gravest in the society. The ddiyith[61] is
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628 therefore doubled in this case. We have here the reason, distinctly
682 made, why, in my opinion 1000 duros must be established as the fine
614 for homicide (a sanction which the clans of the Aith 'Abdallah and the
619 Aith Bu 'Ayyash both establish and which we encounter in the ribat, or
443 agreement, which allied such tribes as the Sanhajans of the Aith
613 Siddath to the Aith Khannus, and the Bni Gmil to the Bni Bu Frah), and a further 1000 duros for homicide committed in the market; for the damage and disturbance affect not only a single lineage, but are prejudicial and shameful to the whole tribe, which by virtue of the laws of reprisal and blood-vengeance must fatten on any man who forgot his duties or obligations to it.

671 554 Abundant in these ideas, we may observe how in the first lines of the qanun some names are adorned with the honorific titles of shaikh and even qa'id, titles which fit the members of this society as well as two pistols do a saint, for not only did they not realize nor did anyone admit the roles which in Arabic correspond to such titles, but, as can be appreciated, the nominal qa'id (i.e. Sayyid Bu Bakr bin Muhammad Ushshan) does not occupy the first place, which he not only had to yield to the opulent and considerable Shaikh Muhammad Shiddi, but to crouch behind another, second shaikh, 'Ali Azarqan, and we finally discover him in third place modestly lost among the notables: the adults (author's italics), with this single, authentic and legitimate representation: that of his lineage (family group) or dharfiqth, and all the rest, of the social group or jma'th.

It may be observed that this is the only qanun in which the imaginary personage of the qa'id is expressly stated; his title and role are as unreal as all other Arab ones in the Rif, whether they be called bu mwarith, ukil l-ghuyab, shiyukh, mqaddimin and even qudat (pl. of qadi). These people did not look toward Fez nor toward the circumference of the Rif, but toward its center, toward the interior, toward their villages. There was no power other than the assembly, the agraw[75], the council of elders. For this reason Rifian society.... could have previously been considered concentric.[76]

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671 554 693 We may also see the coincidence that this qanun, the only one in which the term qa'id appears, is also the only one which contains that of amghar among the last names (ninth to last) as well as that of ra'is[77], and it reveals to us how the tulba of the Aith Waryaghar, who

000 the proportion, in context, of the fines.

671 There are no offenses against the form of government, nor
687 against religion; more aptly put, there is no need to invent such
688 offenses, nor, by the same token, any punishment for them, because
184 all are agreed in such questions: republic and Islam.

184 This unanimity of opinion among the different groups of legis-
614 lators in the diverse clans of the tribe proves to us their (relative)
619 independence, and this is one of the ties which gives the tribe its
671 form.[81] It is clear that if individuals and families respond to a
602 private common law, the associations of these l[illegible] groups, the (uni-
linear) principles which link them together, and their common law
could not be very different, given their proximity (i.e. to each other).

671 These qanuns, which are the most outstanding signs of the
614 rudimentary (sic) common or public law of the Rifians, reveal to us
and define better than any other consideration (i.e. aspect of Rifian
life, or institution) the reality and importance of that social unit,
the clan, both a truly independent state and the ancient fatherland
(patria) of the Rifian; and the whole of this, the ensemble[82], explains
the Rifians' capacity for resistance in the struggle against any in-
vader through the multiple compartmented monopolies (i.e. clans), each
of which was opposed to the other, at the same time as it showed im-
potence and weakness to the outside (world).

671 These lay and democratic laws, full of suggestions, show the
619 Rif to be a land of custom, forming, as Montagne shows so clearly for
181 other Berber groups[83], a mosaic of minute independent republics, in
opposition to the Moroccan Empire, with its rigid sharifian organiza-
tion and administrative framework of qa'ids; for the qa'id is, as we

the people of Bani Dar al-Zikhlif, the people of Agni, the people of the Awlad al-Hamdi ibn al-Qadi of Qubi'a, the people of Iharumen, the people of Igzinnayen[96] and the people of Bani Gmil, all agreeing among themselves, with respect to the defense of the border, (to impose) a fine of 2000 duros upon any of those mentioned who, in case of war in Dar al-Zikhlif, should flee through negligence (at a time when cooperation in border defense is needed) or should even proceed with cunning (in order not to fulfill the agreement), for which he shall pay the sum mentioned earlier in the present document.

The allies of Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and the Awlad Ghadura who flee back to their homes in Dar al-Zikhlif shall pay the above amount to each one of the clans. A sum shall be levied from their hands by those indicated in the earlier part of the present document. Those of both clans mentioned who would appear for judgment in the act and combat against their own (people) remain exempt from payment[97], (the justification of) this procedure being that it is the only way to impose brotherhood and unity, and to cause extralimitation against them to cease.

He who attended the present agreement with both parties and heard from them what was agreed upon extended this to the requirement of those who solicited it.

At the end of the divine month of Rajab al-Fard of the year 1336 (May 9, 1918).

Servant of his God, (illegible).--(Signature).

B) Commentary:

The above qanun, as a perusal of it indicates, represents an

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survival, up into our own time, of insignificant tribes, true Rifian Switzerlands, authentic islets, like Thafarsith, which were surrounded by powerful neighbors.

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Thanks to such a mechanism, the individual within the family, the family within the jma'th, the jma'th within the clan, the clan within the tribe, and the tribe within the area or region all attained an unstable equilibrium, but an equilibrium, nevertheless, from start to finish, the most curious facet of which was expressed in the linkage of clans and in the two great rival bands of the Ghmara and the Sinhaja.

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I am unable to determine whether the liff was the cause or the result of the fractionization which Rifian anarchy brought about, populating the mountains with a real mosaic of small autonomous states which were grouped into two rival bands and equilibrated thanks to the linkage of the liff system.[102] Many reasons could be given for one or the other theory.

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It is certain that the liff, in the Rifian ethos, is a mysterious and powerful force, to which the tribesmen submitted body and soul, if one might say so without necessarily admitting a comparison of European methods of alliance.[103]

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This qanun offers further proof in support of the fact that the clan in the Rifian mountains was an autonomous state within the tribe. Thus, as in this case, we see it brought together with the neighboring

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clans of another tribe (Bni Gmil), regarding the subject of war on the border, while its members either forget or eschew union with another clan of their own tribe (Swahil of Bni Bu Frah)[104]; according to European modes of thought, such an action would induce a lack of esteem

614 648 in the tribal political organization and entangle it badly, a tribe which up to now appears to be the least clear or tangible of all those studied and known so far.[105]

687 [671] [829] As European states do, this document imposes a public duty upon the natives of the territory, for they must defend their tribal lands with their weapons in their hands; and it even includes punishment for anyone who shrinks from staying in the danger zone. While, [682] however, among Europeans such a punishment is moderate, we see that [443] among Rifians, by the importance of the fine (2000 duros) the penalty is as high as that for murder (i.e. in the market), for this amount is equal to that stipulated as ddiyith[106] in two qanuns already examined, that of Aith 'Abdallah and that of Aith 'Adhiya.

Thus, then, an offense against patriotism constitutes a crime in itself, and it is sanctioned analogously upon the coward and deserter as homicide is upon the murderer.

577 574 671 This may explain the virtues, such as courage and hospitality which we have so frequently seen attributed to the Rifians; for it was precisely their clear-cut laws and rude (i.e. rough and ready) custom which urged them on, stimulated them (see the qanun of the jma'th of Thamasind for hospitality) and which perforce they practiced.[107]

671 701 [702] 11. A QANUN OF HARKA--AITH WARYAGHAR:

It is obligatory for all the qa'ids and members of a harka that each one of them must present himself in fixed turns, which each one must take without losing a day. Whoever does not obey this order, except in the following cases, such as illness[108], and nobody may go on leave during his turn without authorization from the kabir al-mahalla.[109]

312 Dharga (Sidd)n Bujinn: Downstream from Dharga 'Arridh, in front
[402] of Dharga n Dahar. It reaches Habbuqush[167] and moves three mills
(Sriman Muhammad u Bari, Hammadi n Muh u Bari and Hmid Hammadi).[168]
[571] It has two turns, for the Imsamaan and the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.[169]

Dharga Iznagen: Downstream from Bujinn, it reaches Habbuqush and
[571] has the following turn cycle: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, I'abbuthen, Ims'-
[402] audhen, Habbuqush and Thabirkhashth.[170] It moves three mills (Hmid
n 'Amar, Si Mhand u bil-Qasim, and Muhammad n bil-Hajj).

104 Dharga nj-Fars: only in time of abundance.

Vocabulary: water-aman; irrigate-sissu; irrigator-itsissau; turn-nubth, pl. nubath; dam-uggug, pl. uggugen; sluice or dyke-sidd; ditch-dharga, pl. dhargiwin or dhargwin; irrigation furrow ("donde se rompe agua")-anqssar, pl. inqssaren; water or irrigation expert-aquwwam, pl. iquwwamen;[171] land-dhamurth; garden, orchard-dhabhirth.

17. DOCUMENT REGARDING THE DIVISION OF IRRIGATION WATER: TRANSLATION:

675 Praise be to God. After the truce (sulh) took place between the
614 three subclans, which are comprised by the people of Ajdir and those
312 who are with them, those of the Imhawren and the ones with them, and
578 those of the Imrabdhen and the ones with them,[172] the water of the
423 River Ghis which is born (literally, "comes out") in the springs of
691 Bu Harishen and in those below it was partitioned into three irrigation ditches, in conformity with what is set down in the document which records the testimony of those who have agreed to it, the Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Ali bin Shu'aib Amhawil, wishing to appropriate for himself the water which exists above the springs, whose water is

usufructed by 'Abdallah bin Ahmad Azhawif and his brothers Awlad 'Ali bin Ahmad[173], because the water of the latter is independent of that which was concluded in the agreement, proceeded to hinder it from those (individuals and social groupings) mentioned in the above pact, alleging that it was prejudicial to the water which was the object of the agreement.

He and the Sayyid Misa'ud bin 'Ali al-Ajdiri, wakil (legal representative) of the people of Ajdir and Imrabdhen, appeared for judgment before the servant of the Sultan (may God protect him[174], the Qa'id Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Salam bin 'Abd al-Sadaq and before the distinguished and good jurisconsults and other (persons), who advised them to work out an arrangement, as is ordered in the Book (Koran) and in the traditional law (Shar'), by whatever exists in it of benefit to both parties and by the fear of what could happen as a grave emanation from the quarrel. By virtue of this, the water cited above as the object of litigation shall be divided into three parts. One-third of it, the amount of which is that of four days of irrigation, is for the aforementioned Shaikh Muhammad and his associates in irrigation; and the other remaining two-thirds, the amount of which is that of eight days of irrigation, shall be channeled into the three irrigation ditches which were the object of the first agreement made, and which emanate from the springs of Bu Harishen.

In conformity with the above, the litigation was considered as finished, as mentioned above.

No trouble remaining between them, by virtue of the above, (as well as) no quarrel, no proof, nothing which could continue the debate

671 and, second, diligence, both of which are qualities also needed by
224 judges of The Law[189], who, in order to manipulate their terrible
692 weapon, the pen, need attitudes of repose, and sheltered places where they can keep their books and papers and even hide their faces.

224 Incidents which arise during hunts are examined most often
578 by passing them to the mulu' of the same hunting party. He settles
627 them on the spot, giving his judgment on the matter, and in the
614 event that the question must go up in front of the imgharen, the latter limited themselves to doing their duty and to putting into effect the opinion of the mulu', a natural arbiter.

224 Thus it had to be; and if, for example, there was a hunting
578 incident in the snow, the best possible proof of which was individual
627 tracks or footprints, this required, on the part of the judge, dili-
695 [132] gence in copying or studying before it was rubbed out.

224 The usual sanction, all over the Rif, for hunting incidents
681 is a fine of 25 pesetas.[190]

[128] For the examination of different cases which tend to come up often, we have grouped them in the following categories, which facilitate consultation even though they are somewhat arbitrary.

F) Game:

223 1) A bird knocked down in flight within the range of vision
671 of the hunters belongs to whoever hits it, until, having hit the ground, it flies up again, in which case, and if it is not wounded again, it belongs to whoever catches it.

223 2) If a bird or animal is hit simultaneously by several hunters,
224 it belongs to whoever catches it; and if several people should catch it
671 at once, it is divided among them (Aith 'Ammarth).

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22--All the lineages referred to in this paragraph live in the village of Tazurakhth, subclan of Aith 'Adhiya, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, in Aith Waryaghar. In my own notes, however, we have no record of any lineage named Izubu'an in Tazurakhth, and this point we checked out with informants from the same village in 1954.

23--The holiest man in all the subclan areas of the Jbil of Aith Waryaghar, Sidi Ahmad (or, as he is called locally, Sidi Hmid) n Sidi r-Hajj Mis'aud, was of the Aith Kammun lineage of the subclan of the Lower Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar clan of the Imrabdhen. It might be noted that he received one-fifth of any fine paid for a crime committed in the market or on the market road; the other four-fifths were divided up among the other constituents of the market, along tribal and segmentary lines (one for the Axt Tuzin, one for the Aith Bu Khrif of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, one for the Aith 'Arus and one for the Aith Turirth). Sidi Ahmad also collected an annual ziyarth from the constituents of the Wednesday Market of Tawrirt, and every summer he made a trip through his bailiwick in order to bring about a cessation of bloodfeuds at harvest time.

24--From the lineage of Aith Wuzghar in Aith Bukhrif, of Aith Bu 'Ayyash Proper, Haddu n Muh Amzzyan became a qa'id quyad (qa'id of qa'ids) under 'Abd al-Krim and was the leader of the largest Rifian irregular force on the French Front in 1925-26. Under the Spaniards, he was qa'id of the Nkur qa'idate of Aith Waryaghar from 1926 to 1951, when he was removed from office by the Spanish authorities because of unnecessary harshness. He died on March 1, 1955. My own recollection of him is that he was the most remarkable informant I have ever encountered in Berber Morocco, a walking encyclopedia of Rifian custom.

25--This passage is difficult to translate and even perhaps unclear, but it is nonetheless a faithful rendering of the long-winded and verbose notarial prose in Arabic which any 'adl employs to terminate a document before signing his name.

26--What is meant here is that if the name of a sharif or holy man figures in any given qanum, the talib who is recording it tends to list him first of all, irrespective of whether or not he is the clan's most significant spokesman.

27--"Customary tribunal" is a term which the French applied to the courts of Berber law which they underwrote in the Atlas; and for this reason, it seems doubtful to me that such a notion can apply here, even though the idea that "custom was king" in the Rif was largely or even entirely valid during the "Republik".

28--Blanco makes no mention here of the haqq-houseburning relationship.

29--It seems fairly obvious that Blanco has inadvertently picked up this term for "vengeance" from the extensive literature on the Kabyles of Algeria; the Rifian term is r-'adhawth.

30--R-rhin, "mortgage", always applies to land or houses, i.e. to real property. If A needs money, he gives B some property of equivalent or greater value in return for lending the money to him. When A regains his money, he pays B back and takes back his property. In the Rif,

000 unlike the Central Atlas, there is no special time limit on repayment.

• [614] 31--Imhawlen is the literal transliteration from the Arabic text, rather than the Rifian form Imhawren. The Imhawren are one of three subclans of the clan of the Aith 'Ari, of the lowland Aith Waryaghar; and the clan of the Aith 'Ari, along with that of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, form a single khums or "fifth" in that tribe.

776 692 32--Sidi Mhand u Musa (died 1254 A.H., or 1838-39 A.D., according to one informant), the apex of the lineage of Izziqiwen of the clan of the Imrabdhen. Sidi Mhand u Musa is buried in Aith Hishim and is one of the most important saints of the Aith Waryaghar. As the text 776 778 692 indicates, he adjudicated disputes and settled feuds (between the Aith 'Ari and Aith Yusif w 'Ari clans); and he is said to have had a great deal of baraka, which, in accordance with Rifian notions of baraka-transmission, was successively passed down to only one descendant at a time: from Sidi Mhand u Musa to his grandson Sidi Misa'ud, bypassing his own son Sidi Siddiq; then to Sidi Misa'ud's son Sidi Hmid n Sidi Misa'ud; then to Sidi Siddiq's son, Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq; on the latter's death, to his son Sidi Muhand; on the latter's death to his son Sidi r-Hajj 'Amar, who was made qa'id of Imrabdhen by the Sultan Mulay 'Abd al-'Aziz; and then to his brother Sidi Muhand.

776 792 Some informants say that Sidi Mhand u Musa and his descendants are the only true shurfa among all the Imrabdhen in the Aith Waryaghar, and that they have the right to their share in the sunduq or box of Mulay Idris for this reason. The share in question is divided up every year at the time of the Mulud: either a representative of the Dharwa n Sidi Mhand u Musa goes to Fez to get it, or, as the descendants of Mulay Idris are said to have a complete listing of those entitled to such shares, they sent them out. The shares are the same every year, but informants were unable to tell me the amount (a fact which in itself casts suspicion on the legitimacy of their claim to be shurfa). When the allotted amount arrives in Aith Waryaghar, it is divided into four parts: one for the descendants of Sidi Misa'ud ("Burjila") n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (the Iburjilathen of Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi 'Abdssram n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (also in Aith Hishim), one for the descendants of Sidi Haddu n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Zawith n Tashtiwin, in the subclan of Aith Tmajurth, in the clan territory of Aith 'Abdallah, and in Swani, where the Plain of Alhucemas meets the Mediterranean at the mouth of the Nkur River, in the clan territory of the Aith 'Ari), and one for the descendants of Sidi Muhammad n Sidi Siddiq n Sidi Mhand u Musa (in Aith Hishim).

000 33--The reference here is probably to Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari n Sidi Musa n Sidi Hmid l-Quruni, the father of Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar Agnau, of the lineage of Aith 'Aziz in the subclan of Upper Imrabdhen. Both father and son are buried in the Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar, located in the subclan of Iraqraqen in the clan territory of Aith Hadhifa.

Once again, with Sidi Mhand u Musa and Sidi Hmid n Sidi 'Ari, both subclans of Imrabdhen are represented, no doubt in order to give greater validity to their roles as adjudicators, but also to the qanun itself.

000 44--Which is unwritten in any case.

45--The Aith 'Abdallah are at once a clan and a "fifth" of the Aith Waryaghar.

46--In Rifian, Dhara n Tihrariyin, "the spring of the pure women(?)". The Tuesday Market once located there has not been functioning since the establishment of the Spanish protectorate, or earlier. The people of Aith 'Abdallah at present share a market, held on Mondays, with those of Aith Hadhifa; this market is located on the border of the two clan territories.

[614] 47--Sidi 'Amran is buried in the jma'th of Aith S'aid, in the subclan territory of Aith 'Aru Musa, one of two subclans of Aith 'Abdallah (the other being Aith Tmajurth).

[114] 48--Presumably with eleven of his agnates as cojurors, for twelve must swear in cases of suspected homicide; but there is no mention of this in the text and Blanco, whose knowledge of collective oaths in the Rif was sketchy, does not comment upon it.

[114] 49--Blanco's notions of Rifian segmentary lineage organization are somewhat deficient; for although the notion of a confederation of tribes might once have existed in the Rif (vide the liffs of Ghumara and Sinhaja), but during the "Republik" as described both by Blanco and myself, it most emphatically did not exist, nor does it exist today.

50--"Autonomous" would perhaps be a better word in this connection, for any segmentary system presupposes an interdependence of its component segments, upward, downward and laterally; and within the framework of such a system, maintained as it is by the principles of balance, oscillation and opposition, there is always some (and often very considerable) latitude for a (virtually or largely) autonomous existence on the part of individual segments, irrespective of the segmental level under consideration.

[619] 51--Because the Aith Waryaghar, in point of population, are the biggest tribe by far in the entire Rif (with the Igzinnayen following, at some distance), its clans may be functionally equated, in certain respects but not in others, with whole tribes elsewhere.

671 614 52--The Aith 'Adhiya are one of two subclans of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (the other being "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash), of the tribe of Aith Waryaghar. We have referred to it as Bani 'Adhiya rather than Aith 'Adhiya in the text itself, as this is how it appears in Arabic.

614 162 Although the Aith 'Adhiya are strictly speaking a subclan rather than a clan proper, as the Aith 'Abdallah are (see Chap. VI), they are nonetheless about the same size as the latter in point of population; and the whole clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, with both subclans considered, is the biggest in the tribe, and by a rather wide margin (population 22,000 in 1960). This fact helps explain two things: 614 616 671 1) why the Aith 'Adhiya and the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash are in opposite liffs, and 2) why the qanun of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya deals with almost exactly the same matters as that of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah. Aith 'Adhiya and Aith Bu 'Ayyash form one "fifth". 619

000 53--This is probably Aith Tizi, forming a part of the larger jma'th of Ighmiren, with Aith Fars.

54--Whether all the Aith 'Adhiya jointly sacrificed two bulls, or whether one each was sacrificed by the members of each liff is not indicated.

55--The market in question is the Monday Market of Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[671] 56--In both this qanun and that of the Aith 'Abdallah we see how the fine for murder committed in the market is double that for murder elsewhere. Both qanuns also imply that not only must the fine be paid but that the murderer's house and crops will be burned as well. All informants from all over the Central Rif, however, said time and again that if the fine is paid, there is no houseburning. The root of the [735] discrepancy seems therefore to be an implicit assumption that the average murderer is too poor to pay the fine, which is in any event prohibitively high.

57--In some respects one can see what Blanco means here, but such a statement, particularly regarding the "superficiality" of Rifian Islam, is one which the Rifians themselves would hotly and vehemently deny. In their own eyes, they are extremely good Muslims!

[262] 58--Rifians tend to eat meat, as a rule, only on one day of the week: when they buy and bring it home from the market.

[114] [682] 59--Blanco here confuses the ddiyith, or blood money, to be paid to the victim's agnates, with the rhaqq, or fine for murder, to be paid (both payments being made by the murderer and his own agnates) to the council-members.

[682] 60--Blanco's point about 1000 duros being the fine for murder under normal circumstances (i.e. outside the market) and 2000 for murder inside it is very well taken; and, as he implies, these sums are indeed the norm all over the Rif. But once again, he confuses fines with blood-money, and they are entirely different.

61--Again, read rhaqq or fine.

62--Again, read rhaqq or fine.

[114] 63--This is an interestingly expressed idea, but the linkage with nomadism seems questionable.

● [614] 64--As already indicated, the Aith Khattab include the two Waryaghar clans of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari; and in this sense they might be considered a "super-clan", particularly if, as some have it (though this is nowhere indicated in the text of the qanun), they embrace the Aith 'Abdallah as well. In the same way, Aith Bu 'Ayyash, if it embraces, on the topmost level, the two clans of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and Aith Hadhifa, may also be regarded as a "super-clan" of the same order of segmentation. However, the group in question is referred to as Bani Khattab, not Aith Khattab, in the text of the qanun.

65--As indicated, this qanun is valid only for the coastal Aith Khattab, those of both Aith Yusif w 'Ari and Aith 'Ari who live in and around the Plain of Alhucemas, bordering the Mediterranean.

000 66--The tomb of Sidi Bu 'Afif is located in Tafrast of the Aith Mhand n Yihya, near Ajdir, in the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The market right beside it ceased to function after the establishment of the Spanish Protectorate.

[976] [732] 67--This saint, nicknamed Bu Rjila, "possessor of a small foot", because of his lameness, was a direct descendant of Sidi Mhand u Musa of Aith Hishim (Lower Imrabdhen). In his time, Sidi Hmid Bu Rjila, to call him as the Rifians do, was the most important saint among the lowlanders of Aith Waryaghar, and his ability both at adjudication of intra-tribal conflicts and at dispensation of baraka were legendary.

[613] [614] 68--Ajdir, or Aith Ujdir, forms a lineage unit within the subclan of the Aith Ughur Izan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, but not all the names which follow are those of the Aith Ujdir properly speaking.

69--This sum is only one-quarter of the usual amount for murder in the market; and we have unfortunately no explanation of why this should be the case.

70--A value judgment, of course, but not without amusement when taken in context.

71--The jillab is a cloak, formerly of wool but today often of cotton as well, with sleeves and hood, and is par excellence the Moroccan male garment.

72--Sneakers were perhaps commoner in the Rif as male footgear than any other type of shoe, in Spanish times.

[464] 73--What Blanco probably refers to by "forced internment" is that city Arabs have since Spanish times been found in tribal administration posts as white-collar workers, male nurses, etc.

[114] 74--This is hardly the case. Such city dwellers to be found in rural administration posts, in our experience, do their best not to imitate the tribesmen, who today are gradually becoming more urban, or more Westernized, in dress.

75--Blanco actually means aitharba'in rather than agraw in this particular context.

[113] 76--A concentric theory of community and/or tribal loyalties in Middle Eastern social structure has been elaborated by John Gulick, Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village, Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology, New York 1955.

77--Ra'is in Arabic is "headman", from ras, "head".

[992] [113] 78--Mulay Admad al-Raisuli was a sharif from Bni 'Arus in the Jbala whose colorful career in the first quarter of the 20th century ranged from provincial governor to bandit, and whose story is most engagingly told by Rosita Forbes, The Sultan of the Mountains, New York: Holt, 1924. In early 1925, Raisuli was captured by 'Abd al-Krim and died in April of that year in Thamasind, in the heart of the Aith Waryaghar. He is buried in the village cemetery at Thamasind, and his grave, which we have seen, is in no way different from any of the others.

S: Blanco Izaga G-4,5 (1914-1945) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3
Senhaja MX4
Aith Siddat

000 95--The two tribes in question are Bni Bu Frah and Bni Gmil, the former
S a predominantly Rifian even though largely Arabic-speaking tribe, and
[619] the latter, also predominantly Arabic speaking, disclaimed by both the Rifians and the Sinhaja Srir.

R 96--A lineage of the clan of Agni, of the Bni Bu Frah, this unit, as
[613] indicated by its name, came from the tribe of the Igzinnayen. It is the second of the two Rifian-speaking lineages of the Bni Bu Frah.

97--Two questions emerge here. First, the text refers to "both clans", when in actual fact Bni Bu Frah has four clans. This may, however, mean one of two things: a reference to Muhammad bin al-'Arbi, the Awlad Ghadura and their allies (Muhammad bin al-'Arbi and the Awlad Ghadura being considered as one clan and the allies as another), or it may in fact refer to the two liffs into which the tribe was split and thus embrace all four clans. The first, in context, seems more probable. This jibes with Blanco's statement, in the commentary (note 259), that the two clans in question are Agni and Ulad S'aid.

Secondly, we find, in the notion of payment for combatting their own people, a contradiction in terms. But this can probably be explained away by the fact that what this statement (which is highly unclear) probably refers to is that those who stay on the tribal border and combat any of their tribal brethren who try to evade the collective obligation by sneaking home are indeed exempt from payment of any fine, because their conduct has been exemplary.

R One further point: the fact that lineages from every clan of the
[613] Bni Bu Frah are mentioned in this border agreement suggests the total
[619] involvement of the tribe as well as, implicitly, that of all of the Bni Gmil; for in small tribes, such involvement is total, whereas in large
S ones, such as the Aith Waryaghar or the Igzinnayen, this may not be
[619] (and indeed often is not) the case.

R 98--Even so, lineages from the other two clans of the Bni Bu Frah, Swa-
[613] hil and Ibuyihyathen, also appear to have been involved (see text of
[614] qanun); and presumably all or most of the Bni Gmil was involved as
S well, though this is nowhere stated in the text.
[619]

99--The mobility of tribal borders to which Blanco alludes here was quite relative; and it was far less great than, for instance, that among desert Bedouins, or even transhumants.

100--The liff system is perhaps a center-piece in Rifian political organization; but it is not the only one. There are other institutions with almost equal claims to primacy, such as the plural oath.

101--The liff system did bind together different social units, but always, let it be remembered, those of the same order or level of segmentation--unless, for example, a shift in alliance occurred, in which case it was possible for a liff to move upward or downward (in a structural sense) in gaining or losing new adherents.

It will be noted that the bulk of Blanco's commentary on liffs here is substantially the same as his chapter on the same subject in Der. Cons. Rif.

the participating lineages are overwhelmingly affiliated with Ajdir and the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. Indeed, through the first four days, the participants are all members of lineages localized in Ajdir and its immediate environs. Although Ajdir itself may be considered a segment of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari, the distinction made in this context between "Ajdir" on the one hand and "Ughir Iyizan" on the other probably referred originally to participants who were from Ajdir "Proper" as opposed to other Aith Ughir Iyizan. Our own notes tend, in fact, to bear this out, as in the Ajdir turn on the first and third days, the U Haddu and W'Alla w Ujdir part-turns are affiliated with the lineage of the Aith 'Aru 'Aisa; the U Hammu part-turn is affiliated with that of the Aith Zar'a; and the U Mis'aud u Yusif part-turn is of course affiliated with that of the Aith Mis'aud u Yusif. In the Ughir Iyizan turn, on the second and fourth days, all the part-turn names in question designate lineages which had land in Ajdir long ago but which no longer exist as separate entities. Their names are today preserved only in connection with distribution of irrigation water, the present recipients of which are all in effect members of the three lineages of Ajdir.

To complete the record on the l-Bzimma ditch, it only need be said here that our data vary slightly with Blanco's regarding the irrigational order of the small lineage branches, e.g.,

1st Day (24 hours): Ajdir--U Haddu (Aith 'Aru 'Aisa; U Mis'aud u Yusif (Aith Mis'aud u Yusif)
2nd Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan--U Yikhrif; U Yihya u Musa
3rd Day (24 hours): Ajdir--W 'Alla w Ujdir (Aith 'Aru 'Aisa); U Hammu (Aith Zar'a)
4th Day (24 hours): Ughir Iyizan--W 'Alla Ughir Iyizan; U Dris
5th Day (24 hours): Bu Mqathir
6th Day (24 hours): Zawith and Tishtin r-B'ai

134--I'arhuthen may be an error; the lineage in question is probably that of the I'abbuthen, a member lineage of the subclan of the Tigarth of the clan of the Aith 'Ari; while the Dharwa nd-Hajj Si 'Ari Ubarru are a branch of Aith r-'Arbi, also of the subclan of Tigarth. We have been unable to trace the lineage affiliations of the Dharwa 'Abdinnbi.

135--The fact, which Blanco discusses at length below, of the subclan of Imhauren (clan of the Aith 'Ari), of which the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid are member lineages, doling out water on a staggered nine-day basis to the Aith Bu Dhimmus is rendered all the more remarkable when one realizes that the latter are a branch of the lineage of the Aith Yikhrif w 'Amar, subclan of the Isrihan, in another (and traditionally hostile) clan, the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

136--Dhifirasin (literally, "pear trees", sing. dhafirasth) is not the name of a lineage at all, but that of an irrigation ditch. Both the irrigating lineages, however, are of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari: the Aith Mhand u Yihya (of the Plain), though "foreigners" from the Ulad 'Azzam of the Wargha River Sanhaja, are affiliated with the subclan of the Isrihan, while the Im'aruwen (here again there are two groups who are not geographically contiguous, one in Isrihan in the mountains and one in Thafrasth in the Plain--the latter group is under

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[614] consideration here) are affiliated with the Ajdir segment of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Iyizan.

[614] 137--All three lineages are member groups of the subclan of the Tigarth in the clan of the Aith 'Ari.

312 591 613 114 138--Our own notes on the division of irrigation water from Dharga n-Bulma'iz are a little at variance with those of Blanco. There are three turns of 24 hours each, for the secondary ditches of Dhifirasin, r-Ghis Burma'iz and Thafadhna n Dara (Upper Dhafadhna). The Dhifirasin turn is distributed among the lineages of the Ibukriwen, Ihanjiqen (both of Aith Mhand u Yihya of the Plain) and Im'aruwen (this is exactly as Blanco indicates); but the Ghis Burma'iz turn is limited only to the three lineages of the Imhawren, i.e. the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid. The Tafadhna n Dara turn is divided between the lineage of the Yinn Si 'Amar (branches of Dharwa nd-Hajj 'Amar and Dharwa nd-Hajj Muhand) of Lower Imrabdhen, clan of the Imrabdhen; and the Aith Bu Dhimmus (Dharwa n Muhammadi 'Allush); and this is very much at variance with what Blanco says. It is possible, but unlikely, that a change in order may have taken place after the Spanish administration put cement bases in the three principal ditches (r-Bzimma, Bulma'iz and Dthafadhna) in the Lower Ghis; and the cementing occurred long after Blanco left the Rif. It is easier (and probably more plausible) to attribute the discrepancy to ambiguity among informants; but here again, the pitfall of using ambiguity as a scapegoat is that even the least intelligent users of any ditch are always thoroughly conversant with which lineages use it, how much time and how long the cycle is, and in what order it comes. For it is standard irrigation practice in the Plain of al-Husaima that each dharfiqth receives water for 24 hours at a stretch, and that after this, the supply is cut off so that other dharfiqin can irrigate.

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[114] [614] 139--Blanco is in error here for not being familiar with the segmentary minutiae of the Aith Waryaghar. The Aith Bu Dhimmus lineage does not belong at all to the dharfiqth of the Imhawren, whose clan affiliations are with the Aith 'Ari, but to that of the Aith Yikhrif w 'Amar in the subclan of the Isrihan, of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[114] 140--Our own fieldnotes on the subject say nothing of the staggered, around-the-clock rotation every twelve days of the Aith Bu Dhimmus after their insertion into the routine of the Imhawren turn; but we think we are at fault here for not having gone into the matter thoroughly enough. Blanco is indeed to be congratulated here not only on a truly original discovery, but on an excellent exposition of his material as well.

141--This statement proves that in Blanco's time the three principal ditches emanating from the Lower Ghis had not yet been cemented.

142--Only the lineage of the Dharwa n Hammu Taqar'aith is of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari; all the rest of the individuals and lineages mentioned here are resident in Ajdir of the Aith Ughir Izan subclan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

143--Our own notes on the distribution of water from the Tafadhna ditch, while not as detailed as those of Blanco, are nonetheless largely in accord with his. The ditch has a three-day cycle: Imhawren (24 hours),

000 with the lineages of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, Aith 'Abdallah u Hmid and Aith Muhand u Hmid irrigating; Aith Bu Dhimmus (24 hours) with the Dharwa n Muhammadi 'Allush irrigating; and Yinn Si 'Amar Umrabit (24 hours).

[114] 144--Blanco gives the "9 hours 20 minutes" figure (the difference between 12 hours and 2 hours 40 minutes) as "h. 60", which seems to make no sense whatsoever, and may be simply a typographical error.

[103] 145--Our notes record this as one ditch, called Sidd Tuth r-Hammam ("mulberry in the heat"?), a lower extension, in fact, of Sidd Dharga nd-Bzimma. It has a two-day turn, distributed as follows: U Kammuni, U r-Qadhi, U 'Amar u Bukar, U Muhand and Zawith. As in the l-Bzimma ditch, these names are purely names of turns, and not names of actual lineages located in the area around the ditch. However, at least three of the turn names recall present lineage segments of the clan of the Imrabdhen: U Kammuni and U r-Qadhi recall the Aith Kammun and Aith r-Qadhi in the Upper Imrabdhen, and U 'Amar u Bukar recalls the Aith 'Amar u Bukar in the Lower Imrabdhen. Given this fact, it is also possible, therefore, that Zawith in this context might refer either to the Zawith n Sidi Yusif in the Lower Imrabdhen or to the Zawith n Sidi 'Aisa or Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar in the Upper Imrabdhen. The turn name U Muhand is too generalized to provide any lead.

146--Blanco unfortunately does not provide us with a translation of this document.

147--'Azib, in an Arabic dictionary, is generally given the meaning of "estate", but it is one of many words in Arabic which mean different things to different groups of people. In the Central Atlas, it refers to a shepherd's shelter in a summer pasturage area; and in the Rif it refers to a second house built by an individual who already owns one, preferably a second house in which he spends a certain season of the year, such as summer. Such an individual is called a'azzab, pl. i'azzaben, and there are very few of them in the Central Rif, where transhumance, in any form, is non-existent.

148--The tribes in question which are bounded by the Lower Nkur are the Aith Waryaghar on the west bank and the Thimsaman on the east; but it should also be remembered that the Middle and even a part of the Upper Nkur divides the Aith Waryaghar (west) from the Axt Tuzin (east).

[621] [613] [614] 149--The latter is a lineage-community of the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari, while the former (Imzuren) is a thoroughly mixed local community, with elements of the Aith 'Ari, Aith Yusif w 'Ari Imrabdhen and even the Aith Bu 'Ayyash clans all included.

[618] 150--Our notes on Dharga n Dahar state that it has nine turns: five for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash (by which, naturally, is meant only those lineage segments of this clan localized around the area of the ditch), and the remaining four as follows: Abyadh (the Aith Mhand u Yihya of the Isrihan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Thasrand Imziren (half for the Aith Bu 'Ayyash and half for the Aith Musa w 'Amar), Ihaddushen (a branch of the Aith Musa w 'Amar) and Imzuren. In each one of these turns, there are 7 or 8 nubath. From Thasrand Imziren to the Nkur, the Aith Bu 'Ayyash irrigate; and from Ihaddushen to Imzuren, the Aith 'Ari do so.

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151--The third-mentioned individual was from the Aith Bu Qiyadhen lineage of the Aith 'Adhiya subclan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and the fourth from Ajdir of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari. The others were unidentified.

312 591 613 614 152--Sidd r-Hajib irrigates the Aith Musa W. 'Amar and Iswiqen n Waddai (affiliatedwith the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari), for the most part. Sidd Inufan irrigates the territory of the same lineages, as well as the land of a few intrusive families of Shurfa Wazzaniyin from Snada (Aith Yittuft), those of Sidi l-Hajj Mikki and Sidi Brahim. Sidd Bu Kra' irrigates up through Imjjudhen (of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari), as well as r-Mruj and Ahamri (the site of the Granja). Sidd Ahammar irrigates land bought by the Hajj Hmid n 'Abdssram Bu 'Ayyashi, the son of 'Abdssram nj-Hajj Muhand Bu Qiyadhen mentioned in note 151; and it irrigates land of the Ihankuren lineage (in Aith Musa w 'Amar) as well. Sidd Miskur irrigates Ifthisen (Aith Musa w 'Amar) and the Ifqiren (Aith 'Amar u Bukar of the Lower Imrabdhen).

153--These ditches are presumably named for the lineages which use them: Tigarth and I'abbuthen (both of the Tigarth subclan) in the Aith 'Ari, and Aith Misa'ud in the Lower Imrabdhen.

154--Sidd Tagharbund irrigates for the Ihankuren (of Aith Musa w 'Amar of the Aith r-'Abbas subclan of the Aith 'Ari), Imjjudhen (of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari), certain lineages of Bu Minqad (again of the Aith r-'Abbas of the Aith 'Ari), the (Lower) Imrabdhen of r-'Azih Imzuren, and, in 1953, for the then Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), Mikki n Sriman r-Khattabi, of Ajdir. Sidd 'Abdallah irrigates for the Ifqiren lineage (of Aith 'Amar u Bukar of the Lower Imrabdhen subclan) at r-'Azib Imzuren, Sidd Arbib ("dam of the step-child") irrigates for the Ifqiren and Ma'iza lineages (also of Aith 'Amar u Bukar) at r-'Azib Imzuren. Sidd Ishtari irrigates for the Imrabdhen of r-'Azib Imzuren, and for the Imhawren, Aith Musa w 'Amar and Bu Minqadh lineages (the last three of the Aith 'Ari).

155--As indicated, the Imhawren are a subclan of the Aith 'Ari, while the Aith Mhand u Yihya are a lineage of the Isrihan subclan of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

000 156--For whom, presumably, the ditch was named in the first place, as those of its members who are nearest it share a turn from its water.

[613] [591] 157--Our notes state that the Dharga n Tmsaman always has a right to one-third of the water from Dharga Ughzar Amzzyan; and that there are four, rather than three, turns of 24 hours each, the fourth being that of the Aith 'Amar u Bukar (Lower Imrabdhen) of Ma'iza.

[613] [614] 158--A lineage of Izakiren community in the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

159--Sidd Jdid is used in summer, when water is scarce, by the same lineages who use Dharga n Tmsaman.

160--This document is not given by Blanco in translation.

776 778 161--Sidi r-Hajj Yusif n S'aid Ikhrif lived in Imnudh (Aith 'Adhiya, of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash) and is buried there, in a tomb surmounted by a white cupola, on the left bank of the Nkur. He is not one of the Imrabdhen of the Aith Waryaghar, but has descendants in Imnudh, in the Thimsaman and in the Axt Tuzin. In the clan of the Axt 'Akki in the last-mentioned tribe is buried his son Sidi r-Mdur, who gave protection to the tulba when they gathered at his tomb to read verses from the Koran. It is said that there was a time in which they stopped praying, and since then he has not afforded them his protection. Sidi r-Hajj Yusif has the reputation of being able to cure sick people and to cure barrenness in women. He is visited on Thursdays, and sacrifices are made at his tomb.

[755] [782]

000 162--These figures date from 1938, at the time of Blanco's survey.

[773] 163--The legend behind Azru n Srith is as follows: once a wedding was going on in the neighborhood of Thanda Hawa (which functioned as a gate and grain-silo deposit for the City of Nakur). A foreign saint, Sidi Birqi, who came from the east and who is now buried on the east bank of the Nkur River, in the Axt Tuzin, came up to the wedding procession to ask the people for a little water in order to perform his ablutions prior to prayer. He was brusquely refused, and because of this, he turned all the members of the procession, including the bride on her mule, into stone. To this day, Rifians say that the rock of Azru n Srith looks like a bride mounted on a mule--and hence its name.

[613] 164--The following groups irrigate from Sidd Ysiyar: Aith Bu Srama of Izakiren ("True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ighmiren (Aith 'Adhiya, Aith Bu 'Ayyash), Ixatshumen (Isrihan, Aith Yusif w 'Ari), Axt Tuzin, and Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Aith Habbuqush and Aith Tbirkhashth (all of Truguth, Thimsaman).

[613] [614] 165--Izakiren is a lineage of the subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash of the clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash, and Ighmiren is a lineage of the subclan of the Aith 'Adhiya of the clan of the Aith Bu 'Ayyash. Our notes read that there are eight turns, rather than seven, for Dharga n Tufrasht, but these, beyond reading Izakiren and Ighmiren, are unspecified.

[613] [614] 166--Dharga 'Arridh irrigates for Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa (clan of Truguth, of the Thimsaman) and Aith Bu Srama (lineage of Izakiren, subclan of the "True" Aith Bu 'Ayyash, clan of Aith Bu 'Ayyash).

[614] 167--In the clan of Truguth in the Thimsaman.

168--All of Izakiren in the Aith Bu 'Ayyash.

[613] 169--Our notes state that the water of Bujinn is restricted to lineages of Truguth, in the Thimsaman: Imrabdhen n Bu Zwiqa, Ims'audhen, Aith Habbuqush, Dharwa nj-Qa'id 'Allal.

[614] 170--All of the clan of Truguth, Thimsaman. Our notes read, in addition, that Dharga Iznagen irrigates some land in the Thimsaman which belongs to 'Abd al-Krim.

104 624 171--It might be noted here that the aquwwam is functionary, corresponding more or less with the Arabic shaikh al-filaha, who was introduced

104 624 [686] by the Spaniards. If anyone fails to turn up to repair a ditch after a storm, the fine he pays goes not to the aquwwam but to his jma'th, who buy sugar and tea with it.

000 172--"Subclans" may not be strictly accurate here as a translation, but it is better than Blanco's "fractions". Ajdir is, as aforementioned, a community of the subclan of the Aith Ughir Izan of the Aith Yusif w. 'Ari, while the Imhawren are a subclan, in their own right, of the Aith 'Ari. The Imrabdhen are an entire clan, but in this instance only those subclansmen of the Lower Imrabdhen contiguous to the Imhawren and Ajdir were involved.

[613] 173--The references are to the lineage of the Aith 'Aru Hmid, subclan of the Imhawren, clan of the Aith 'Ari.

174--The Sultan of Morocco at this time was Mawlay 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Hisham (1822-1859).

175--It is impossible for us to infer today even the clans to which the first three men belonged, much less their lineages, because of the antiquity of the qanun (or, in this case, shahada) in question. However, Muhammad al-'Arusi was probably of the Aith 'Arus or a descendant of someone who had escaped from a feud in that mountain subclan, and 'Abdallah b. Ahmad Amhawil must have been of the Imhawren subclan of the Aith 'Ari.

[554] [648] [631] 176--Sriman r-Khattabi of Ajdir, whom the Spaniards made the top qa'id of all the Aith Waryaghar in 1926. He held this position until 1934-35, when, at Blanco's instigation, Waryagharland was divided into three qaidates of equal size. In 1936 he became Pasha of Villa Sanjurjo (al-Husaima), a position he held until his death in 1950.

[614] 177--Of the clan of the Aith 'Abdallah, but lineage affiliation is unspecified.

178--Both the qadi and the two 'adul can be identified as being of the clan of the Aith Yusif w 'Ari.

[224] [113] 179--In Moroccan Arabic, rayah or siyada are the usual terms for "hunting"; in Rifian, however, the word is dhingmarth, while hunter is angmar, pl. ingmarn. A very summary description of Rifian hunting techniques, as practiced for the most part in the Igzinnayen, and with rifle, net or trap, is in Coon, op. cit., 1931, pp. 37-38; and a summary of Blanco's own data is also contained in R. P. Esteban Ibanez, "El Derecho Consuetudinario en la Sociedad Bereber", Institut International de Sociologie, XVIIIe Congrès, Nuremberg 1958, Sept. 16-17, 1958 (mimeographed).

180--This is not literally true, for like all Moroccan Muslims, Rifians are extremely fond of mutton (or even goat) tajins, or olive-oil based vegetable stews.

181--The distribution of the meat of a dead (or sacrificed) animal is called r-uzi'ath (Ar. l-wuzi'a), and every member of the jma'th is entitled to his share.

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114 182--According to informants in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, this was not, and is not so. Hunting is neither obligatory, nor are there fixed days for it; people hunt entirely when they wish to do so, although nobody would think of doing so on Wednesday (market day) or Friday.

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67] We wonder, too, if the Rifian hunting qanuns are in fact as detailed and as complex as Blanco would have us believe. Hunting is certainly less common now than it was, for instance, during the "Ripublik", and possibly the general knowledge of many of the fine points [114] which Blanco has recorded has died in the interim. It is also possible [178] that these same fine points may be in fact an indication of the relative lack of game in the Rif; that because the human population is relatively high and the animal population relatively low, provision must be made to establish priority rights of particular individuals to game, under any circumstances. Hunting regulations, as Blanco describes them for the Rif, are far more elaborate than they appear to be in the Central Atlas, where game (and large game, such as Barbary sheep, panthers and boar) is plentiful and where hunting is generally done with a bu shfar, the flintlock gun. There, the general rule of thumb is that anyone who hears a shot fired comes running, as any person present at a kill has the right to share the meat with the hunter (i.e. if the animal in question is not Koranically tabooed). In the Rif, game is small (jackals and boar are the largest animals, and both are getting progressively rarer) and not overly numerous, and people are many; hence the elaboration of these hunting qanuns. (Boar are of course not eaten, given the Muslim taboo on pig.)

000 183--This word we have been unable to find in the Jbil of the Aith Waryaghar, in which area hunters, collectively, are called ingmarn (sing. angmar), and where no one can really be termed a "hunt leader".

184--This term, as frequently shouted during a hunt as haw-haw-haw!, the hunting call proper, means "Here it is!" or "There it goes!" and is in fact the Rifian classificatory cousin to the English or Virginian fox-hunter's "Tally-Ho!"

[114] 185--Given mistakenly by Blanco as Aith 'Amar u Yahya.

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613 186--In several communities of the clan of the Aith Hadhifa there are lineages of the Upper Imrabdhen (Rashkra, Zawith n Sidi 'Abd r-Qadar and Kammun), while one community (Dhamarkat) contains Lower Imrabdhen lineages.

● 614 However, the disposition of these two hunting bands does not appear to coincide with that of the two subclans of the Aith Hadhifa; for while in the first band, Ihadduthen, Mishkur and most of Bihban belong to the subclan of the Aith Bu Jdad (Aith Bujdat), Thizimmurin and Iharunen belong to that of the Iraqraqen; and while, in the second band, Aith 'Amar u S'aid and Bashkra both belong to Iraqraqen, the Imrabdhen are of course intrusive. It is, thus, far more likely and, indeed, a far more logical assumption, that the hunting-band organization described by Blanco follows territorial lines rather than purely segmentary ones; and proof of this can be ascertained from a glance at Blanco's tribal map of Aith Waryaghar in the appendix. A A

A A, [No appendix is given--Analyst]

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

In addition to a common language, certain other culture traits are shared by most Berbers. The Berber arts still differ from the Islamic arts acclimatized in Barbary. Designs on pottery, rugs, and blankets are almost entirely in geometrical patterns. Nothing could be clearer than the contrast between the lozenges and chevrons of Berber work and the complicated floral and epigraphic designs of Levantine art. The simple houses of the Moroccan highlands probably are local variants of the prevalent Mediterranean types, but the multistoried buildings of rammed-mud blocks in southern Morocco show eastern affinity. Indeed, no traveler who has seen the Moroccan *qsar* and the "skyscrapers" of southern Arabia can fail to be impressed by the similarity of the two.[11] Similarity of this sort suggests diffusion of style and techniques from a common center, possibly eastern Africa, which may also have been the main center of the "Hamitic" languages.

A few nonmaterial traits also can be associated with Berber speakers. We can still discern among them the remains of an agrarian animism. The ceremonies that seek to obtain through rain, considered as the male element, the fecundity of the soil, which represents the female, are doubtless of this category. Wherever Berber is spoken, the important events are reckoned by solar months, not by the Muslim lunar calendar.[12]

Until recently the social organization of most Berber-speaking communities differed from the Arab or Muslim order.[13] The Berber districts were characterized by extreme fragmentation into small units, each guided by ideals of independence and self-sufficiency.[14] The cell of each unit was the family. Several families formed clans, with about a hundred members who traced their descent from a common ancestor. In the regions of deep-rooted peasantry, particularly in the mountains, groups of related people were linked by means of assemblies composed of delegates from each family.[15] The function of the assembly was to regulate the tasks and taxes of the community. To ensure the execution of decisions and to facilitate relations with other assemblies, a chief, or elder (*amghar*), was appointed, but he was only the delegate of the assembly and every precaution was taken to prevent aggrandizement of his powers. A prudent rotation arranged for the representatives of the principal families to take office in turn. The territory governed by the

cians. In modified form, it is still used by the Tuareg. G. Marcy, "L'épigraphie berbère numidique et saharienne," *Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales*, 2 (1936), 128–164; F. R. Wulsin, "The Prehistoric Archaeology of North-West Africa," Peabody museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, *Papers*, 19 (1941), 111–114.

[11] Cf. the photograph of San'a in Harry Hoogstraal, "Yemen Opens the Door to Progress," *Nat. Geog. Mag.*, 101 (1952), 238, and of Tinerhir in Jean and Franc Shor, "From Sea to Sahara in French Morocco," *ibid.*, 107 (1955), 178–179.

[12] Other examples of pagan survivals in Morocco are given in three works of Edward Westermarck: *Ceremonies and Beliefs Connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco* (Helsinki: Akademiska Bokhandeln, 1913); *Ritual and Belief in Morocco* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1926); and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1933).

[13] The remarks to follow are based upon Robert Montagne's *Les Berbères et le makhzen dans le sud du Maroc: essai sur la transformation politique des berbères sédentaires (groupe Chleuh)* (Paris: Alcan, 1930).

[14] I use the past tense because the French-sponsored *dahir* of May 16, 1930, which called for a division of Morocco into two districts, one under Qur'anic and the other under tribal law, was repealed on September 4, 1956. Under the present system the functions of the assemblies are exercised by officials appointed in Rabat.

[15] With excellent insight, Konrad Wiche, "Marokkanische Stadttypen," in *Festschrift zur Hundertjahrfeier der geographischen Gesellschaft in Wien, 1856–1956* (Vienna, 1957), p. 492, describes the Berber assemblies as *Talschaften* (valley associations).

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

assembly was an economic unit. In the Shluh area of southwestern Morocco most of the independent communities have still or had formerly a collective storehouse, or *agadir* (Berber *tighremt*), administered according to minutely established rules."

Under normal conditions the social hierarchy did not extend beyond the family and the assembly. Larger groups assumed importance only in periods of crisis, as when there was a revolt against the sultan or need of defense against an enemy. The next order, which is still of minor importance, is the tribe, traditionally formed of the members of three to ten assemblies. The members of a tribe also claim descent from a common ancestor. The genealogical connotation is apparent in tribal names, which are usually prefixed by *bani* or *aith*, Arabic and Berber, respectively, for "sons of" and "people of." Each tribe has at least one weekly market and a sanctuary—the tomb of the patron of the tribe—which is the focus of an annual pilgrimage. But the manifestations of tribal unity were and are largely ceremonial, and in the past tribal chiefs were elected only in time of war. Moreover, the tribal unit was divided and weakened by an elaborate system of moieties (*leff*). All the communities making up a tribe were thus paired, and every family or clan had the right to call upon its *leff* brothers in an emergency. At various times in Moroccan history, tribes have been grouped to form confederations, but large organizations of this sort had neither a permanent chief nor an assembly. With the exception of the Rifians, most Moroccans have lost interest in the confederations. "On the whole," as Henri Terrasse remarks, "Morocco has been a conglomeration of little Berber republics keen to maintain their autonomy and, in case of need, to defend vigorously or reconquer in pitiless revolts their independence and their customs."[9]

Wherever Arabic has replaced Berber speech, there also Qur'anic law has replaced the old tribal order. In such areas one can no longer speak of "Berbers," but neither can one speak of "Arabs," in the sense of Arabians or Levantines. The cultural dichotomy now evident in northern Africa is the result of a long process of assimilation. The forces which have brought about Arabization are analogous to those which produced the Hispanization of Latin America. This analogy is reasonable, for the number of Arabians in the Atlas is probably no larger than the number of Spaniards in the Andes.

Punic and Roman Influence

The historic period did not begin at the same time for the whole of Barbary. Along the coast it began with the arrival of the Phoenicians, late in the second or early in the first millennium B.C. It is probable that the Barbary coast was visited by Minoans and Egyptians also, but there is no evidence that they founded colonies. The regions occupied by the Phoenicians became part of the civilized Mediterranean world. Carthage, near the modern city of Tunis, was founded in 814 B.C. by settlers from Tyre. Utica, thirty kilometers to the northwest, and Gades (Cádiz) date from 1101 B.C. Other settlements, a day's voyage apart, were founded on the Algerian coast. On the Rifian coast it appears that colonies were

[8] For detailed accounts of the Moroccan granaries, see Dj. Jacques-Meunié, *Greniers-citadelles au Maroc* (Paris: Larose, 1951); and Robert Montagne, *Un Magasin collectif de l'Anti-Atlas: l'Agadir des Ikounka* (Paris: Larose, 1930).

[9] Henri Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc* (Casablanca: Editions Atlantides, 1949), I, 33.

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173 the valley for prayer, he shot their schoolmaster and two others be-
628 fore his rifle jammed, and he wept.

Now the Tadmutis laid a shame compulsion on Bukkeish's men at the foot of the valley by slaughtering an ox on their mosque door, and more blood was shed, until finally the councilors convened from hill and valley, to sit like birds of prey at the scene of slaughter. Many angry words were said; finally a decision was made. The Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin had committed sacrilege by killing men, however much they deserved to die, on the holy feast day which the Prophet had designated as the end of the pilgrimage. For sacrilege there was only one punishment, exile. Leading a few thin cows the women of the Ulad 'Abd el-Mumin and the few men who remained alive climbed the path out of the valley, with the smoke of their houses rising behind them. One day they returned, but that is another story. In the meantime they lived in a village outside of Fez with other exiled Riffians, caring for the olive trees of rich Arabs and dreaming of revenge. Not all returned, and their children and grandchildren may be seen, blue eyed and yellow turbaned, near the Bab Gīsa in Fez.

621 This true story illustrates the Riffian system of government. The
● 614 unit of society above the family is not the village, but the clan, which
212 owing to the linear nature of the arable land, spread along narrow
191 watercourses, may be housed in several separate clusters of houses. Each clan has its own schoolmaster, who is also registrar of deeds, since he is always literate. Many of the other men are also. While their spoken language is Berber, they write in Arabic, usually more classical than the daily speech of the Moroccan Arabs, which but few of them can understand. Each village also has a blacksmith, a Negroid whose home is in Targuist, the arsenal tribe of 'Abd el-Krīm.

621 In each cluster one village stands out as the seat of a Friday
778 mosque, usually maintained by a holy descendant of even holier
792 saints, whose tombs adorn the landscape and serve as minor places of pilgrimage, especially by women. Up in the tribes of Beni Amart and Targuist several mutually related families of murabiṭīn, the Ikhemrijen, dwell in green-roofed edifices built by Spanish renegades.

623 The village needs no council because all the men are kin, and
867 there are no wards or ṣofs to split them. Rarely do the men number more than two or three dozen. The schoolboys, sitting in the mosque, play at government, with a mock Asht Arba'in of their own. On

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121 631 XI. The Riffian anarchy. -- We have spoken of the state of political dissolution in which the tribes of the western Rif live, in particular the ones whose territory borders the sea between the Ouringa wadi and the Ighzer Moqorn, to the point that the tribal fractions themselves appear to be no more than a dust of rival and hostile families; thus one will not expect to find in the mountains that border the Mediterranean an organization comparable to that of the South of Morocco. In this region, where 121 361 621 632 [619] the houses are scattered, established on the summit of each hill, and form as many separate little fortresses, the customary units, such as the hamlet, the "mouda^{c}," even the khoms, have limits difficult to discern. The "mouda^{c}" is still extant, thanks to the existence of a Friday mosque common to a large number of households, and in trying to establish the list of the households that co-operate in the maintenance of the taleb, one succeeds in finding again in the general tangle of families this small elementary group that exists in the most anarchical regions. At times, when the houses approach one another in order to form a sort of village spread out over a /239/ hilltop of two or three kilometers, amidst gardens and Barbary fig trees, the social bond 621 613 grows a little tighter again. The familial group to which we have given the name of "ikhs" in the Sous is designated here by "tarfiq" (1):

1. Perhaps from the Arabic "refaqa," group of persons, unless it is a deformation of "ferqa," division.

621 613 614 114 It seems that it might be permissible to give the name of "clan" to the "tarfiq" of the Beni Ouriaghel. This is a familial group more numerous and more lasting than the "ikhs" of the Haut-Atlas and at the same time a sort of political unit. Doutté gives, wrongly according to us, the name of "clan" to the ensemble of families that constitute a jema^{c}a in the North

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/footnote 1 continued/ of the Haha ("Organisation sociale et domestique des Haha /Social and Domestic Organization of the Haha/," pp. 10-11. Now there is an association of "ikhs" of diverse origins there. On the other hand, the bond of blood exists among the households of the same Riffian jemaᶜa.

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it includes about ten houses -- 30 to 40 hearths in all -- and becomes a group strong enough to defend itself. The "tarfiq" heads, willingly set off by the title of "amghar," are feared and respected because they can then assemble 40 or 50 "brothers" resolute for anything. For the most insignificant motive they take up arms and engage in bloody battles with the neighboring hamlets for long years. These are then veritable wars of extermination, which end only in the disappearance or exile of the vanquished. The following example, selected in the fraction of the Aït ᶜAbdallah, of the tribe of the Beni Ouriaghel, favorite country for soff struggles, will give the measure of the violence of these rivalries capable of breaking most of the social ties.

Discord broke out not long ago between two villages, each peopled by a "tarfiq," the Aït Qasem and the Ibouneharen, following the killing of a dog that belonged to the guest of an amghar. When the Aït Qasem refused to pay the blood price of the dog, namely 50 douros, claimed by the amghar, it came to blows and to war. Twelve men were killed the first day. In the following years 40 men died on one side, 62 on the other, in regular combat, not counting those who were assassinated for vengeance. Finally, the defeated party decided to leave the
[722] country. Old men were then seen to take refuge with the women and children in the sacred mountain of the Zerhoun, after having sold their goods in order to be able, in one last effort, to buy a murderer who would avenge their dead. The conditions under
[435] which this last was to make the designated enemy disappear were carefully detailed and the stipulations passed before the ᶜadoul; if the shot killed the adversary, the recompense was /240/ 10,000

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*631 /293/ Finally, the rights of suzerainty that the sedentary or
423 nomadic tribes acquired over the qsars /fortified places/ harassed
571 by plunderers come to create other obligations and causes of
578 conflict. These circumstances are favorable for the establish-
ment of a strong power dominating the anarchic dust of the
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[121] families. Their study goes beyond the limits of our work, but
their existence suffices to explain the difference that the organi-
zation and political evolution of the Berbère /Berber/ tribes near
the Sahara and those of the sedentary ones of the Atlas or Anti-
Atlas may present.

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634 XII. The amghars of the Rif. -- At first sight, one might
631 expect to find in the mountainous regions of the north of Mo-
171 rocco, among the Jbala and in the Rif, a development of per-
sonal power comparable to the one that we have observed in the
Sous. In reality, here, as there, the action that the Makhzen
/makhzan/ carried out on the tribes in the nineteenth century
remained distant and did not venture to come to break up the
efforts of the minor chiefs in their beginnings. Pashas established
in the towns at Fès /Fez/, Wezzan, Larache, Taza governed at a
great distance through the agency of caliphates named in the
mountains, and since the authority of the latter was weak, the
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[616] Berbère /Berber/ or Arab populations lived in a situation very
close to independence. Moreover, the village and canton re-
publican institutions, the size of the small autonomous states,
the division into leffs created, it seems, circumstances favorable
for the appearance of personal power, analogous to the ones that
we found in the Atlas of the Masmouda.

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Nevertheless, contrary influences were to make themselves
634 felt to limit narrowly the chiefs' authority. We have mentioned
631 the importance of the private wars in the western Rif that some-
• 614 times led to the disappearance of entire villages in a few years.
578 The repetition of these struggles for long centuries ended in the
consolidation of veritable clans, patriarchal and agnatic families
augmented by clients and allies, whose persistence becomes
necessary to the very life of the individual. The khoms is thus
made up of a certain number of clans, "tarfiqt," all independent
of one another, ready to separate at the least pretext. Old

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634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapa-
631 ble of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge, in the name of their
578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars, is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge from this anarchy.

792 In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
578 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear, shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
[621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
[465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
[794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate con-
[648] flicts. At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these populations and the caliphates and the pashas. But these marabouts are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia, zawiyah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
792 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organization of the Khemalcha marabouts, who exploit the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen, the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel ʿAlam, the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in recent years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.

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634 792 182 This expansion of the religious forces smothers the free political life of the mountain populations, and even when a family head succeeds in dominating the neighboring villages and becoming amghar of an entire khoms, he remains the respectful servant of the holy personages who maintain in the tribes the tradition of Islam, hate of the Christian, and direct, without ever appearing, the debates of the little assemblies.

/295/ It is only where the grip of the marabouts and shorfa relaxes for a time and in the regions that are not entirely given over to private wars that the ambition of the minor amghars can be given free rein for some years. Indeed, we see them appear on the north versant of the chain of the Rif, out of the reach of the zaouias established on the summits, in the tribes of the Ghomara, among the Beni Bou Frah, the Beni Gmil, the Mestasa, and to the south of the Jbel Hammam, in the country of the Gzennaya at the sources of the Nkor, or in the tribe of the Beni Amret.

634 619 Although the internal life of these tribes at the end of the nineteenth century is less well known to us than that of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, it is nevertheless possible to find again the conditions in which the amghars of the western Rif grew important, up to the moment when the effort attempted by ᶜAbd el Kerim /Abd-el-Krim/ to constitute a Riffian State made them disappear at a single blow.

619 648 The anarchy in the country and disturbances that occurred in the tribe of the Boqqoya had made necessary, at the beginning of the reign of Moulay ᶜAbd el ᶜAziz, the sending of a strong harka of the Makhzen /makhzan/, and the organization of the tribes was entrusted to the kaid Boucheta el Baghdadi, of the guich /gish/ of the Sultan, who in our day has become Pasha of Fès /Fez/. The garrisons billeted in the old casbahs of Tafersit and Snada, supported by a small steamer of the sherifian fleet in the bay of Alhucémas, sufficed at this time to restore order. The command of the tribal "khoms" was then entrusted to the chiefs [614] of the most powerful clans, named sheiks for the occasion. The dissensions of the mountain "khoms," which had previously ended

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619 648 in the creation of a kind of political chessboard analogous to the one that we found among the Masmouda, subsided for a time.

175 726 [648] Several years of peace -- from 1898 to 1903 -- were followed by the passing of the pretender Bou Hamara and soon by the intervention of Spain on the coasts of the Rif beginning from 1909. Anarchy broke out anew; other leffs were again constituted [616] [634] around the two rival fractions of Targist, winning all the country from the West to the East, from the Beni Gmil to the Beni Amret. It was in the course of these combats that there then appeared and grew important such amghars as El Hajj Beqqich, in the north of the Gzennaya, Mohammed ᶜAbdallah of the Ijaᶜounen, in the tribe of the Beni Amret, Mesaᶜoud of Aqqa among the Beni Gmil.

634 [171] /296/ These minor chiefs then are masters more absolute in their tribes than the Masmouda amghars of the same importance; they do not find themselves in fact inconvenienced by the tradition of the oligarchic inflas councils, nor by the memory of the moqaddem's role. Nevertheless, like the amghars of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, they share with the notables the fines paid by the guilty, taking a third when they are still weak and nearly all when they have solidly established their power. In the cantons that they dominate, they establish other amghars chosen from among the strongest "tarfiqt" chiefs and bind them to them by marriages. The authority that they acquire in this way is such that they are capable of conducting far and wide, across the neighboring tribes, expeditions to a distance of a day's march, in order to go to make their word respected and to punish their adversaries. El Hajj Beqqich did this; leaving from the sources of the Nkor, he went with his horsemen to wreak vengeance on his enemies as far as Ajdir.

[171] [681] [434] [614] [581]

175 721 634 648 [669] At the time of the great movement for a holy war against Spain in 1921, the amghars figured at the head of the Riffian contingents. We see them take part with ardor in the battle of Anoual. But when ᶜAbd el Kerim, his relatives and companions from the village of Ajdir take, by means of the "Jihad," the command of the Beni Ouriaghel, organize a little state, bend the surrounding tribes to their will in order better to direct the fight